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on the part of the people I talked to; men may remember the names of their wives, and do know those of their daughters, but practically never those of any other married women.

Personal names are of practically no importance to the Lepchas of Zongu and they have no sort of permanence. On the third day after birth, when the lama casts the infant's horoscope, he will discover his 'sacred name'; but this is never spoken by anyone, merely inscribed on the horoscope; it is never used subsequently; and nobody knows their own sacred name. On the third-day birth feast one of the people present (usually an 'aunt' or the officiating Mun) will give the child some name; it may refer to some physical peculiarity (e.g. *Thyak Thimbu*—Big Head), to some incident which took place while the mother was carrying the child, or may just be the day of the week on which it was born. In the case of a child born after several previous children had died young, he or she is often given a deprecating name such as Peut, which means a wandering Tibetan beggar-monk, or Tafong, which means a manger. But these names are equally impermanent. As the child grows older anybody may give him a nickname; thus Kurma *gyapön* as an infant was named by an aunt Tayout; his mother called him Kurma because as a suckling he was bad tempered (people say *kur kur* to a cross child). As children grow up their nicknames increase; and a person's name is simply that which is used most often. Many people have two or three names of equal validity, a state of affairs which at the beginning caused me enormous confusion. Thus Peut, Chano's 'brother', was also called Chinya, Nariya Kochet, Serving Aving and so forth. Except for outsiders names are of very little importance; the householder in whose name the property is registered must keep that name in use; otherwise names are almost non-functional.

It occasionally happens that as part of the cure of an illness the lamas will order their patient to change his or her name for a year; in such cases a new nickname is provided. If the banned name is meaningful the word is not avoided in ordinary conversation. The names of dead siblings are never given to new-born children, and those of the recently dead very seldom. It occasionally happens that the lama finds from his horoscope that the new-born child is the reincarnation of a dead ancestor; even in such cases, though the situation is considered mildly auspicious, the child is not given the name it bore in the earlier incarnation.

Names have a certain negative effect; a person should never

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796 is the direction in which the devil has gone. Should the pointed end turn backwards, that is towards the thrower, it is a very bad omen; it means that quarrelling will take place in the succeeding year.

V

755 The exorcisms and apotropaic rites performed by lamas for the benefit of individuals are even more numerous and varied than the calendrical rites. There is scarcely an ill which man is heir to which has not its individual and appropriate ceremonial remedy. Like the calendrical ceremonies by far the greater number consist of making an image of the possessing devil, invoking it, worshipping it, and then destroying it.[8] Besides the image of the central devil there are always a number of minor ritual objects, the most important of which is a twisted piece of dough called *chongbu-tipkŭ*. At the end of the ceremony the sufferer, or, in some cases all present, have this piece of dough ceremonially waved over them (*pék*) by the officiating lama as a ritual cleansing. In the greater number of ceremonies this is the only rôle which the sufferer plays. He is often not even in the same room as the lamas. At the beginning of the service the devil is always erected facing the lamaist altar; when the ceremony is finished the model with its stand is turned round to face the house-door; a double line of flour is traced from the devil to the door as the route it must take to go out, and the image on its board is then carried away either into the forest or to the place where four roads meet. For some exorcisms those who carry the devil have to go through some ritual or be ceremonially purified before they are readmitted into the house.

In some of the exorcisms a dough image of the sufferer is made and offered to the devil in lieu of the body of the sufferer; and in others, especially when it is divined that the devil has been sent through human agency (usually unwittingly: evil or envious thoughts can unleash a devil without the responsibility of the thinker) the devil, in the form of a winged insect, is ritually killed by the lamas with their sacred dagger. Finally, in some apotropaic ceremonies the threatened person himself plays a rôle; thus, for the ceremony *doak-po doat* the sufferer has to progress through the smaller squares of a big magic square, gradually having all his appearance changed: he starts off dressed in black, carrying a stick,

[8] Outlines and descriptions of some lamaist ceremonies will be found in Chapter Thirteen and especially in Appendix III.

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nd ends up dressed in white with a bow and arrow. This is 755
elieved to fool the devil, as is the device of taking a new name for
year.

Some of the sacrificial objects are elaborate and expensive and
emand several hours and a great deal of material to make. All the [779]
tuals are described in various sacred books, and when making the
crificial objects these books are always consulted.

I think the nearest parallel to the attitude of the Lepchas towards 751
maist and Mun ceremonies can be found in that of an ignorant
nd somewhat hypochondriac European towards germs (the devils)
nd vitamins (the gods). There are a number of precautionary
ntiseptic measures to be taken against germs: salad is washed in
isinfectant, food wrapped up in cellophane, children not kissed for
ear of infection, the nose held when there is a bad smell from a
rain, inoculations made against the fear of various diseases at
egular intervals. Psychologically these precautions correspond
lmost exactly to the general and regular apotropaic services, either
hose held for the whole community or the obligatory consultations
hich have to take place at the beginning of each twelve-year cycle
fter the third. Once a germ has got a hold the disease has to be
iagnosed and various remedies applied, for some of which you
all in a doctor while others are traditional. These remedies corre-
pond to the special services held in the case of illness or misfortune,
he lama being rather regarded in the light of the consultant specialist
nd the Mun as the purveyor of old-world and traditional remedies.
To keep in good health one has to follow certain rules about
entilation and sunlight and a correctly balanced diet. For the
epchas these precepts are replaced by the worship of the gods.
t is important to worship the gods and to have plenty of vitamins
ut to drive away devils and to get rid of germs is emotionally far
nore urgent and important. Though the other-worldly aims of
amaism are on the lips of some lamas they do not seem to me
o be of great emotional importance; people say 'there are fewer
devils here now that we have the lamas and their books' rather
s they might say 'there is less diphtheria here now that we have
got the new drainage system'. Though the lamas are considered
o have driven away a number of the older devils an almost equally
great number of new devils have been brought in following the
arrival of Sikkimese and Nepali, as new diseases have arisen from
new occupations and conditions of life to replace those which
have been destroyed by a stricter application of hygiene.

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To a certain extent the employment of lamas or Mun to drive away devils depends on the wishes and wealth of the sufferer or his near relatives; as with us some people are hypochondriac, some people refuse to take even necessary precautions when they are badly ill and some say and feel that they cannot afford the time or money. Some illnesses everybody can diagnose and tell which is the causing demon and what is the necessary curative ceremony, just as many people can recognise and know the treatment of the commoner illnesses. Others are more obscure and consultation has to be made. For the lama there are two possible forms of consultation; he can divine with his rosary, as has already been described, or he can consult the astrological books employed in horoscopes which will tell infallibly what devil on that day would be troubling the person born on the date of the sufferer's birth. In nearly every case a Mun and a lama are consulted simultaneously; should their diagnoses differ a third opinion will be sought and even a fourth and fifth until the Mun and the lama are in agreement as to the cause of the illness and therefore as to its cure. The Mun divines partly by his rosary and partly by *munthen*-ing, that is, communicating with his or her possessing spirit. Very often before consultation with a Mun consultation will be made with a layman who possesses a rosary and knows how to use it to discover which Mun—or rather the Mun born in which year—will be most suitable to deal with this particular patient.

The fear of illness and the ceremonies against it form by far the largest impact of religion on the life of the average Lepcha; a lama is far more a doctor than he is a priest in his function. Medicine in our sense of the word plays no rôle in the lama's cures; the patient is given no drugs of any sort to take; the cause of all illnesses and misfortunes is considered to be supernatural and therefore only supernatural methods are suitable for dealing with them. The Lepchas' knowledge of drugs is anyhow very slight but those who do know medicinal herbs can employ them without any form of ceremony. Religious consultation is very seldom held in the case of the illness of infants or young children; if a child is badly ill the most usual form of cure is to try a change of air, to take the child on a visit to the house of some relative—usually a relative by marriage, either the wife's parents or the wife's brothers. Children until they achieve complete physical independence are barely considered as fully human; they are not given any burial ceremony nor are they the subject of other ceremonies. Children

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858 dying before the age of about ten are usually said to be reincarnations of dead people whose life was cut short before it had attained its full span (for the Lepcha the normalhuman span of life is four score years) and have therefore returned to the world as a human being to finish their term of life before proceeding to their next incarnation. Although live children are so insignificant, dead ones
775 turn into num-een *moong*, almost the most malevolent and dangerous of all devils. As a generalisation it may be said that in so far as human beings remain attached to this world after death, it is as devils, and, the younger the dead person, the more dangerous the devil he may leave behind. Even seeing dead people in dreams (unless they are climbing snow mountains, which indicates that their souls are entering heaven) is dangerous; for the simulacra of the dead are in reality the devils which caused the death.

755 751 In the case of minor physical injuries no religious cure is employed; but more serious accidents, such as falling from a tree or a high rock, are considered to be due to malevolent supernaturals and exorcisms have to be performed to avert the repetition of such injuries for the sufferer or other members of his household. If one member of a household dies a violent death the survivors should repeat annually and at the birth of each new member of the family certain apotropaic rites. It will be remembered that a propensity to violent death, like a propensity to being chased by a bear, is an [582] hereditary taint which must be guarded against in selecting a marriage partner.

787 Horoscopes differ somewhat in their emotional affect from the other lamaist ceremonies. They are obligatory and implicitly believed in and have very considerable influence on the life of the person for whom the horoscope is cast. The first horoscope is cast on the third day after a child's birth; in this is determined the child's character, future employment and span of life, and also those illnesses and dangers with which he is threatened and the ceremonies that the parents must perform to avert these dangers. The second horoscope is cast at the instance of the parents and uncles before a marriage is arranged to see that the conjunction of the joint horoscopes is not endangered by unfavourable omens. This is the least compulsive horoscope of all; there are at least twelve signs in it which can be positive or negative and in by far the greater number of horoscopes the signs are mixed; only if the sign for children is entirely negative will the marriage almost always be abandoned. The third horoscope is cast when a person has completed his third, or occasionally

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performed to solemnise a marriage, to set up the *ingzong* relationship, to mark the formal swearing of an oath or before starting any unusual undertaking. It is used in all ceremonies for which a blessing is invoked (as opposed to exorcisms), sometimes alone, sometimes with the *lafét*[12] sacrifice. It is always made privately in each household after the sowing of a field. It is the most solemn sacrament in Lepcha life.

When a Mun is called in to exorcise a devil the most usual situation is as follows. After the specific devil has been divined the Mun spends a night in his own home *munthen*-ing—that is summoning and communing with his possessing spirit—to discover the reason for that particular devil having attacked that particular person, and to learn what sacrifices or ritual are necessary to exorcise it. The question of causation is bound up with the conception of *tamtoom*—the necessary consequence of an earlier act; often this act was not committed by the sufferer, but by fairly remote ancestors. Thus the Mandal suffered from lumbago as the *tamtoom* of one of his ancestors having abandoned a baby in a field-house, where it was burnt to death. A complicating cause, which also accounted for his failure to produce a son, was that the spirit of his first dead wife was plaguing him because, although herself a Mun, she had been cremated and conducted to heaven by lamas (as though she were a nun) instead of being buried and led to a heaven by a Mun. Angered at this treatment her spirit had been transformed into Sabdok *moong* and in this guise came from the *rumlyang* from time to time to plague her husband and to prevent his having any sons. In this task she was assisted by the Hit *rum*, the Mun god who looks after the new-born dead.[13]

Such a *tamtoom* as this is almost impossible to lift but the Mandal did all in his power to persuade Sabdok *moong* and Hit *rum* to lift the curse, making many sacrifices, and even summoning with many presents an old and widely famed Mun[14] from a village two days journey away. Before Gongyop started performing the

[12] See Chapter Two, p. 74.

[13] The Mun worship two supernaturals, Hit *rum* and Dé *rum*, who are considered to be ancestral gods who look after all dead Lepchas. Their positions and functions in the Mun eschatology will be more fully described in Chapter Thirteen.

[14] This man, besides being a Mun, was also a Pau and Yaba. Gongyop, who assisted in the sacrifice, said that he had heard he was a 'black' Mun—Mun-mook Mun—, but he was not able to form any opinion from the prayers he heard him say.

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755 more customary part of the invocation he told me this story of the reasons of the dead wife's anger with, for him, considerable gusto; it is possibly rather comforting to know that the neglect of the religion of which you are the priest is the cause for such elaborate ceremonies.

When the Mun has discovered as much as possible about the supernatural and immediate causes of the illness he indicates the necessary objects of sacrifice. These are almost always animals, but on occasion other objects are needed as well or instead. Sometimes these objects are valuables, which are just displayed to gratify the supernatural; sometimes other edibles—crops, *chi*, dried bird, dried fish, ginger. According to the ceremony these are either abandoned to be eaten by wild animals, or consumed, as part of the ritual, by all present except the Mun himself.

When animals are sacrificed they are first offered alive to all the supernaturals, including those specially involved; then they are slaughtered by some layman and divided up. Parts of the intestines —the lungs, liver and heart—called the *sha-fot* are singed or cooked with rice and chopped up and thrown to the devils, and the head, one fore-leg, and one hind-leg (these portions are called *gazook*) are laid out and dedicated to the devil specially involved. After the dedication the meat is eaten; it is often the Mun's fee but he does not always take it all. The Mun intones prayers both before and after the animal is killed; the praying may take four hours, and is usually not attended to by the other people present. In daylight ceremonies, when the weather is fine, the Mun often withdraws a little distance from the house in order to pray without disturbing or disturbance.

This relatively simple sacrifice is usually performed when there is a parallel exorcism being performed at the same time by lamas; for some other devils, particularly those with which lamas cannot deal in any way, much more elaborate ceremonies are necessary. It is impossible to generalise about these exorcisms as one can about the lamaist ones, for they have no apparent common principle. I have therefore selected three 'prescriptions' out of the considerable number I have witnessed or heard about, as samples; in their different aspects they embody the greater number of motives in elaborate Mun ritual.

(1) *To get rid of Sor moong* (*violent death*) *or Apang moong* (*genito-urinary diseases*). A goat is tethered by a long rope which has three knots tied in its length; first of all, all the members of the

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afflicted household must touch the knots and then the Mun; then the Mun will call on all the devils to be contented with the blood of the sacrifice and not to take the patient, after which he throws the rope into the air; if the rope falls end outwards (i.e. the end away from the goat falls towards the door) it means the devils will be satisfied; if it falls towards the house the prognosis is bad. After this the animal is killed and the *gaɽook* and *sha-fot* offered to the devil with a plate and a pot filled with rice, a rupee and a ceremonial scarf, together with some of the invalid's ornaments and clothing (these last are only offered symbolically) and also a cup of *chi* with different grains in it. Then the Mun constructs a phallus out of wood, which is called in its guardian function *moong long tik*; this is set up between two stones leaning slightly forward, somewhere in the forest, and anointed with the blood of the slain animal and *chi*; this will keep the devil away, for no devil can pass this guardian.

(2) *To drive away the ghost of a dead child, called Num-een moong, which kills young children by infantile diarrhoea.* After an animal has been sacrificed the person who is troubled by the *moong* goes down to a narrow stream; the troubled person stands on the right of the stream and the Mun on the left of it. Then a 'gateway' is made over the stream of two bundles of elephant grass and brambles; and the Mun holds in each hand a bundle made out of wild raspberries, nettles and all other thorny and prickly plants. These bundles are dipped in water and *pék* over the sufferer several times; then a bamboo *chi* holder filled with blood and *chi* and shut up at both ends, and a leaf filled with fried rice and meat and blood are *pék* over the patient and thrown through the gateway for the devil; then the bunches of thorny plants are thrown through the gateway and finally the gateway is filled up with thorny plants 'so that it looks like a tree'. The Mun does this at two other places some way apart on the stream; he must do these second two—one above and one below the original one—alone, and after completing them he must return straight to his own house without meeting anybody; should he meet people Num-een *moong* will start haunting them.

Num-een *moong* is the devil released by the death of young children under the age of about ten; this devil pursues living people and especially other children; older people who die do not let loose a devil. The Num-een *moong* persists for about three years after the child's death; when there are bad storms the devil can be heard hooting 'Oo-oo-oo.' Children are particularly

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755 frightened of this devil and a great number of Lepchas claim to have heard it cry.

755 762 (3) *To get rid of Chyom moong* (*that is the devil who causes people to die by falling from a tree or cliff*) *or Rot moong* (*that is the devil who causes people to commit suicide*). This ceremony is called Moong Sot, killing the devil, and should be performed by the surviving members of the family in which one member has either died violently or committed suicide. It *should* be performed every three years, but it is sufficient if the ceremony is done after the violent death and at the birth of each new member of the household. If the ceremony is not performed the devil will return and claim another victim.

A dead goat is skinned except for its legs below the joint and is lain on its back with its hind quarters towards the bowman. Beside it is a hole already dug and above it is made a small shelter of bamboos thatched with reeds. Beyond that is set up a red head of banana flower stuck into the ground and against it a post on top of which is attached the goat's heart, in such a way that the blood drips on the banana flower. In a line with this stands a bowman with an arrow in his bow ready to shoot. The Mun is at one side not looking at the post. The other men who are present are all armed with knives.

After a time the Mun starts shivering uncontrollably and summons the devil in a loud voice. As he calls some insect or other will climb up the pole towards the heart, and the bowman must shoot it with his arrow before it reaches it. As soon as he has shot he must call to the Mun to say whether he has hit or missed the insect; if he has missed the Mun must recall it. When the insect is killed it and the goat are chopped to pieces by the bystanders with their knives and buried in the prepared hole; stones and earth are rammed on top of the sacrifice to fill up the hole, and then a second time to make a little mound.

Padem can offer *sakyou faat* and can generally perform some of the simpler exorcisms; there is no general limitation of their power to deal with different devils; it depends entirely on their individual knowledge and capacity. On the whole Padem cannot deal with the more dangerous devils, nor sacrifice animals more important than a chicken or, in a few instances, a goat. The most general form of offering for Padem is the *rum*—the basket filled with various containers. Yaba and Pau, as has been said, can make no sacrifices but can only indicate what sacrifices other priests should make.

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527 fields. When feasts go on into the night, and especially at marriage feasts, couples may go away into the forest or to a neighbouring shed; this depends entirely on individual wish and opportunity, and sexual activity is not a necessary or even a particularly common concomitant to a feast; on the other hand sexual conversation and [522] jokes are inevitable and continuous, and in some of the longer feasts practical jokes with a sexual tinge are played: young women set on an old man, strip him naked and chase him round the monastery, and so on; it is nearly always the older men who are made the butts of such pleasantries.

iii

522 831 One of the things which most surprised me about the Lepchas was this constant verbal preoccupation with sex. Whenever a group of men and women were gathered together for any purpose, however solemn or important, every possible remark was given sexual significance. On the whole when there were only members of one sex present, except sometimes among the younger men, or when there were only three or four people present, the conversation was not so indecent, but in mixed groups it was practically continuously so, and each sally was greeted with as hearty laughter as if an entirely novel joke had been made. A certain amount of ingenuity was shown in giving apparently ordinary phrases a sexual meaning (almost any transitive verb could be twisted into a periphrasis for copulation) but apart from this the theme was not embroidered in any way; simply every possible opportunity was seized for mentioning the primary sexual characteristics and copulation.

522 831 842 It is difficult, especially with the English taboos on the anglo-saxon monosyllables, to give any illustrations of these jokes. But the following verbal transcription of an extremely solemn occasion may give some idea of the sort of pleasantries which are the constant accompaniment to Lepcha work and feasts. As has already been [755] described[3] Chala Mandal went to a great deal of expense and trouble to summon from a distant village an old and widely-famed Mun in order to appease the spirit of his first dead wife, so that his lumbago might be cured and he might beget a son. This occasion was for the Mandal, for his two wives, and for the dozen or more other people present one of very great importance. This is the conversation which took place when the Mun was already in the position

[3] See Chapter Eight, p. 231.

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Gebu *faat* (a Mun ceremony of throwing a *thomu*—lump of dough—to see which way the end points) should be performed. 787

Corpse. The corpse should be buried; it would be bad for it to be burnt.[4]

[4] Note by Tafoor: 'If the corpse were a lama's it would be burnt just the same.'

On the corpse must be put a paper inscribed with 'Parrko sin chagyou'. The corpse must not be shown to others. Since the corpse is an old man the door of death is open; if it had been a child the door would have been closed.

Mariwâ Gumurr. Sandé *moong* is living in a red milch cow. The ceremony Onchook Tsoo Deurr must be done and also Yông Kook (this is three *pong-ring* with *deu*, etc.). He died at sunrise. To the south there are many devils. To the north there is a man with big earrings, or else a mole on his ear or nose and with curly hair and a red dress, whose name is Num; the devil has gone to him.

Sahor Tachen—Stars. The devil who caused death followed a woman from the north-east. Therefore on the corpse should be a paper stamped with a horse from the *lokor* (the 12-year cycle).

Corpse carriers should be Horse or Snake year.

Removal of corpse. The corpse should be taken out of the south-east corner of the house.

. . . . . .

Notes: When Sandé *moong* is driven away ceremoniously on the third day the bag in which the devil resides should be taken with the offering and left for two days—after which it can be re-taken into use. All apparent contradictions are explained by being cumulative or by being contingent.

(*d*) Lama's Divination for Illness

May 1st. Chano came this morning to consult Tafoor about his wife, born in *beu nam* Snake year (1905), who was ill, and also his youngest daughter, who was born in *kik nam* Fowl year (1931) and was suffering from stomach ache. Taking their dates of birth and the present date as his data, Tafoor worked out the following diagnosis of the causes of their illnesses and the measures to be taken to cure them. The explanations were added afterwards 787 755

Wife. The drawing of the first diagram showed that the illness was caused by Sabdok Loo *moong*, by Dadé *moong* (other names Nanjet *moong* and Tom-joong Deut *moong*: it is an evil spirit sent by an enemy), and from Tamsi *moong*.[1]

[1] Tamsi *moong* is the *moong* who causes quarrelling and wars. To keep away quarrels and kill this *moong* a piece of paper is stamped with the printed effigy of the *moong* and surrounded by thirteen crossed sticks. Lamas then sit around this paper holding in their joined hands a *phoorbu*—a sort of sacred dagger, which has three heads on the handle and a piece of black cloth tied round the middle. They summon the devil in a sing-song voice with partly closed eyes: the devil comes in the form of an insect on to the paper when it is killed with the *phoorbu*. When the insect is killed it and the paper are put into a rat's skull,

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round which twelve *sutsong*—pieces of wood pointed at both ends and with a notch in the middle—one end being red and the other black—are tied, and the whole is buried where two roads meet, being well rammed down and a stone set on top of it.

Then from the first diagram, consulting the sacred book he learned the following additional facts. The patient will dream of a red ox.[2]

[2] This dream is automatic; if the patient says she has had no such dream it will be because she doesn't remember it; it is in the book.

People in her house mustn't buy blue cloth, or goats or oxen, and must not sit near a big tree. She must not eat the flesh of a red ox or of carrion. If she will survive to the month of Chupu, i.e. November—she will recover. She is troubled by the Hlamen Djémé *rum*, and he has already taken her soul inside his[3] walls. It is necessary to perform the ceremony of Deut Shagu Kyok.[4]

[3] This is a supernatural equivalent to the Mun *rum*, half-way between gods and demons, of an ambivalent nature, a god when pleased a devil when angry. Between here and heaven it has a gaol where it keeps the souls of men captive until bribed by offerings to let them go.

[4] For this ceremony a small image of the invalid made out of buckwheat powder is required. On the board are also *yé*, leaf cups with grain in, arrows and spindles; gold and silver is scraped over it. *Chimi* are lit, books read, the patient *pék* with *chonglu zipkü* and the offering removed far away.

The illness has been caused through considerable enmity and jealousy.[5]

[5] Karo *moong* is released automatically, through evil thoughts, if you are annoyed with a person because his animals have strayed into your field or because you think he has done you harm, or even because you envy his possessions. The pestering by Karo *moong* is not the result of malice, and though through divination you try to find out who has released it no sort of revenge is taken. To cure its symptoms lamas will burn incense and a Mun will offer an ox and *pék* the patient. If, after having thought evilly of a person you repent and wish to withdraw Karo *moong* you light a number of *chimi* and perform the ceremony of Kongso Klon; chanting and beating drums either in the dark or at your house (must be done by a lama). Karo *moong* doesn't kill.

If the patient herself doesn't die somebody else is liable to. The smell of high meat is insufferable to her. She is very restless. Chimbu Klon and Dumbu Soong must be done at once.[6]

[6] Chimbu Klon—to give a feast without getting any contributions from the guests. The feast must include meat.

Gyapchi klon (this is the same as Dumbu Soong). Five images are made (*a*) Sher *moong*, white, (*b*) Lho *moong*, yellow, (*c*) Deut *moong*, red, (*d*) Chyong *moong*, indigo, (*e*) Mamoo Takloong, black, represented as a woman sitting with spread legs and open vulva. Round these are arranged in circles 100 *chayd* for (*a*) 100 heaps of rice for (*b*), 100 *chimi* for (*c*), 100 *nakhut*—i.e. pieces of dough stamped with the figures of a man and a woman—for (*d*), and 100 *chonglu zipkü* for (*e*). There must also be 100 *zuzsol*—earth copies of *chosu*. The lama officiating at this ceremony must be given five rupees.

If the invalid had not become ill she would have been very prosperous,

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[532]

CHANO CONSULTS TAFOOR ABOUT HIS WIFE'S ILLNESS

Above: Tafoor casts a horoscope in the monastery porch.

Below: The devils to be exorcised. Deut *moong*, Mamoo *moong*, Lho *moong*. They are about 25 cms. high, made out of coloured buckwheat powder on stands of banana stem.

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with lots of food and clothes and animals. As it is she is very bad; her soul has already one leg outside the body. It is the evil thoughts of others who have caused her malady. The Deut Shagu Kyok ceremony must be done at once.

Her husband Chano was born in Oon *nam* (Sheep year), and their years are antagonistic. They are liable to be troubled by Chemen *moong*, Loo Desen *moong*, Mukong Rum Loo, Sabdong *moong*.

The patient will dream of an old and decrepit house, and of a stream. She will vomit. She must not wear a black hat or put on black paint or buy anything black. For a year she should not take food from a relation except those living in the house.[7]

[7] The *moong* possessing her will be hungry and will try to get food. So that when it sees people giving the patient food it will attach itself to them in the hopes of getting more. This holds good for a year. It does not apply to people living in the same house.

A lama must read the following books: Tinchu Bekeu, Numjeu Cheré, Pungoor Luboong, Chétop Chachu. He must also make the following *deu*—Chemen Gédo, Lumoo Gédo—and set them up on a path. Chano must also get the ceremony Loo-fat performed by a Nandjému, and the ceremonies Goonchen and Séné Kyop by lamas. The wife must change her name.[8]

[8] This refers to the name she is usually known by, not her book-name. The new name can be given by anyone, and after that the old name must not be used. If the old name was meaningful, there is no tabu on the name in other contexts. The old name can be resumed after a year.

The rat skull (see 1) must be carried far by her nephew and buried deeply. A *Mezeu tsop* (image of the invalid) (4) must be made. There will be many quarrels in the house if the fine-seeming mischief-making advice and scandal of others is listened to and then Gébu Tabrong Pano[9] will be angry, and will

[9] Quarrels affect this deity as if they were a burning chilli (i.e. irritating smoke).

send all sorts of aches and pains, starting with toothache, as a punishment, and they will continue for some time. The Tyouma Rumso[10] ceremony

[10] This consists of dancing round a cloth and knife-scabbard with a knife in the hand, and also burning *lapsong*—that is incense with crops, *chi* and butter, and scraping gold, silver, brass, copper, iron, turquoise, coral, and conch-shell over the incense. It is the same as Da-floh.

must be performed and also Kongso Klon (chasing devils).

Baby. The baby will be seriously ill. A small image must be made of it and the invalid's hat and coat put with it and it must be taken far away. When taken out of the house the head must not face towards the sunset as trouble will come from there. It should be taken out facing Chyom (south). It is necessary for the ceremonies to be done very carefully as the mother's soul has already got one foot outside the body.

For the baby's health the father should not go anywhere where there has been quarrelling or where corpses have been burned, or where there are people of low degree like blacksmiths and musicians. The baby is troubled by

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Maknyam *moong*[11] and will get pains as though the body were pierced, and pains

[11] This is the devil which causes death. It acts rather like a vampire; those people whom it kills become in turn Maknyam *moong*. Consequently it is in a way the evil ghost of one's ancestors—since they died by Maknyam *moong* and became it in their turn. At one time it used to be visible; but the *sanyoul koong* (tree) which grew in the mountains was cut down and barred its way; now the devil's body can no longer come out, merely its soul.

Maknyam *moong* runs in every family, but some families also suffer from Arot maknyam *moong*—the devil which causes violent deaths. Such a family is that of Kaji's (late) first wife. One of her brothers recently fell from a tree; a pregnant woman in the family was crushed by a falling tree.

in the heart and left shoulder, and shortness of breath. The parents should not buy red or white cloth, or bows and arrows, or any sort of animal from other people, or eat the flesh of carrion or drink rock or rain water. Should it survive till the fifth day of Choobu the crisis will be then. Care should be taken not to let it play with knives and other dangerous instruments. The following sacred books should be read: Numchya Chu, Tukzung Chosung, Nangsa Nanget, Dorjé Chu, etc. The Dafloh dance should be performed, incense burned, and holy *syü* water sprinkled. The Tsatsoh Kyop (stamped *choten*) ceremony should be performed, and also Tsinmu Faat. The child should wear a yellow cloth. Some iron, the head of a chicken and the head of a monkey (? skulls) should be made into a bundle and put on the *kingkoor* (house altar).

For some time there will be many quarrels and general bad temper. (*Aside*: perhaps the baby has been shaken up inside.) All its life long the child will be in danger of death, and that is equally true of its mother. (I think this means that both are threatened by hostile supernaturals, and constant care is needed to ward them off.) Hlamen Djémé (this is the ambivalent supernatural, the god of the Mun, god or demon according as to whether it is pleased or angry) will plague the patient much. The Deut *moong* which is in the house plagues it as severely as if it were the child's mother. The Deut Shagu Kyop (4) ceremony must be performed at once.

The gods and devils are quarrelling over the child's body; should the devils win the child will die. Therefore the ceremonies must be done very properly. The child must avoid water out of rocks or from puddles. Had it not been ill everything it set hand to—trade, crops, animals—would prosper; it would have a life covered with flowers. But (figuratively speaking) a prayer-flag is tottering and must be set upright. Some covetousness (perhaps from a childless woman) has caused the trouble. The child is always in a hurry, inattentive to its parents. Its soul has been taken by Gongbu[12] and Mamoo Deut Tsen[12]

[12] This devil causes swelled stomach. To cure get an ox's horn and fill with rice seed; the lama will hold this and pray silently, and then *pük* the patient and give him some seeds. Butter, meat and *taki* must be mixed and set fire to, and taken outside.

[13] This is a trinity of supernaturals, consisting of the female Mamoo who is indigo, Deut *moong* who is white and Tsen *moong* who is red.

will give trouble. Maknyam *moong* (11) is in the house, and also a devil Bidé which was sent in the time of the father or grandfather. Now the gods are angry and Daphlo should be performed. The child is constantly dreaming of human

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corpses ; it either has, or will, excreted and brought up blood. It has no appetite. First the gods were angry, now the *moong* are. The ceremony Yongkeuk Gedo Klon [14] must be performed and Sunen (same as Tamsi, 1) and the taking

[14] This is a ceremony for the material prosperity of the worshipper. A milking pot surrounded with a rope is set up, and on the left side is put a cup of strained *oki*, with four *sakyus*, dabs of butter. Lamas read their books and there is a constantly recurring phrase ' Yago Chakook Sho ' ; whenever that recurs the bystanders shout ' Ya '.

away of the image of the child *ing kup leut ryuk* (4). Also a red *yeu* Tsendeu Gedo must be made. When the image is taken away the head must not face towards the hills ; trouble comes from there. The child's chief trouble will be cough.

N.B. When the Dafloh is danced in laymen's houses a Mun will kill an ox at the same time.

. . . . . .

Although Chano is a lama he can perform none of these ceremonies for himself, and must pay for consultations, etc., as much as a layman would. Tafoor says he has to give his heart to the work—because all the supernaturals are hidden in a huge house—but he finds everything from the books. If he relied on inspiration he might make mistakes. It is very similar to systematic astrology or card-reading, the varying permutations of years and signs being practically inexhaustible.

. . . . . .

(*e*) Performance of Indicated Ceremonies

On May 9th the ceremonies indicated by Tafoor's exorcism were performed. The various lamaist ceremonials were telescoped into one—*Gyapchi klon*—by the addition of such other items as were indicated for the expulsion of the other devils, without introducing contradictory elements. Thus, using the notes in the previous horoscope (1) was not performed as Tamsi *moong* was not the chief operative devil ; (4) was super-imposed on (6) *gyapchi klon* ; (10) the Tyou-ma rum-so or Dafloh dance was performed at the end of the ceremony ; and Yong keuk gédo klon, a minor ceremony, was postponed. The most important thing was that Hlamen Djémé *rum* had been recognised by Gongyop as being in fact the Mun spirit ; and therefore Mrs. Chano was to be dedicated to the Mun god and to receive instruction from Gongyop as her teacher. Consequently there were as usual a simultaneous Mun and lamaist ceremony ; the Mun ceremony conducted by Gongyop is called ABOONG AK (opening the mouth) or RUM KEUK (acknowledging the god) ; the lamaist ceremony conducted by Tafoor can be conveniently referred to as GYAPCHI KLON.

Preparatory to *gyapchi klon* Chano had prepared a large quantity of ground millet powder and ground buckwheat powder, and the trunk of a banana tree was cut up into segments to serve as stands for the images to be made. Sifted earth was also collected, as well as a hundred leaves ; in the morning rice was cooked,

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755 Tafoor arrived early in the morning to start the making of sacrificial objects; he brought with him as *kané* and assistant his wife's brother the son of Lharibu Chujen of Panung; Chano also helped in the making of the objects. The first objects to be made were the images of the devils, each about ten inches high (see photograph) and placed on a three-inch stand of banana stalk. These images were made out of buckwheat flour mixed with water; they were moulded by hand, and the details marked with a blunt piece of wood; they were left to dry slightly before the coluring matter was added. The four male devils were identical; they are portrayed standing; Chyong *moong* was coloured green, Deut *moong* red, Lho *moong* yellow and Sher *moong* white. Mamoo *moong* the female supernatural was portrayed sitting down with her legs apart; the breasts and pubic hair were greatly exaggerated, and also the vulva which was coloured red, the rest of the image being black. After this the image of the house-owner was set up in the centre of an enamelled plate (this is a quite conventional image of buckwheat powder about eight inches high); round the foot of this were grouped discs impressed with the conventional butter image of husband and wife (stamped from the wooden printing block from the monastery) about two inches high and around that again twelve smaller discs stamped with the effigies of the twelve years. These elaborate images took about five hours to prepare, between eight in the morning and one o'clock in the afternoon.

About one o'clock the ox was dedicated by Gongyop (see below); after the dedication it was killed by Chinya and then cut up by Chala Mandal, who was dressed in very old clothes and was covered with blood at the end. The head, one fore-leg and one hind-leg and the intestines were reserved for the ceremony of ABOONG AK; the rest of the meat was divided up amongst those present. During the course of the afternoon the following people arrived, most of them accompanied by their wives and families: Chinya (Chano's 'brother'), Chudo (Tafoor's brother), Thyak Thimbu (Gongyop's brother), Tempa, Aga (Chano's 'brother'), Chala Mandal, Adér (Chano's 'grandfather') and Rigya. As they arrived they were presented with a *patyoot* of *chi* and sat down in the kitchen to gossip and eat; nobody paid any attention to the ceremonies. The wife, in whose intention the ceremonies were being performed, wandered around rather listlessly. The cooking was being supervised by Mrs. Chinya, and Chano welcomed the guests; but Tempa, who was no relation, tried to act as if he was the host, particularly towards ourselves.

Meanwhile in the *dé-ong* Tafoor and his assistant were continuing the fabrication of the sacrificial objects; four *gyachen dzi* were made; these consist of a small rectangular obelisk of dough mounted on a slice of banana stalk with four hollows scooped out of the four sides; these are for the worship of Sercho Gébu *pana*, the king of the east. Flags of coloured paper were prepared for these mounted on splinters of bamboo; these flags—*dadé*—are rectangular, with a triangle cut out of the far narrow side.

Then the smaller objects were prepared; one hundred of each of the four smaller objects had to be made; they were made roughly and quickly, but a great deal of difficulty arose in deciding if enough objects had been made. They were arranged in groups of twenty to make counting easier but even so there was great uncertainty, and at one moment Tafoor, who had remained perfectly calm and peaceful the whole time exclaimed "I am as angry as a

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GONGYOP DEDICATES MRS. CHANO TO THE MUN GOD

Above: Valuables and other objects on a 'plate' on an open-air altar.

Below: Gongyop offers to the gods and devils the cooked intestines of the sacrificial ox with rice. His wife is beside him.

[facing p. 476]

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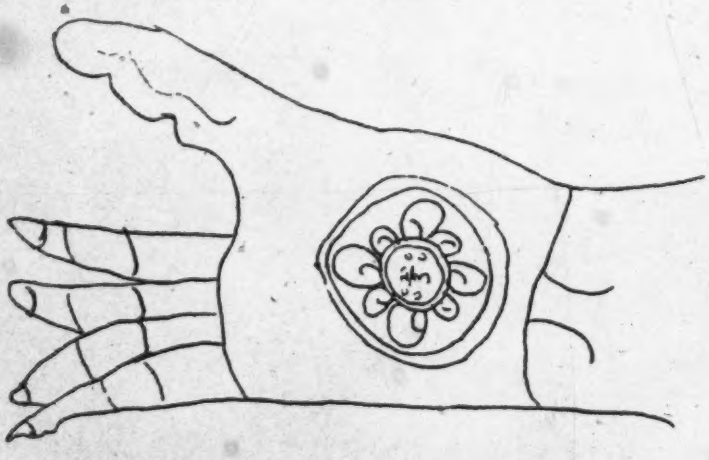
155 standing penis.' Eventually all the small objects were made; they consisted of (*a*) 100 *choten* of earth—small barrows about three inches by one made by stamping damp earth in a mould; (*b*) 100 *chaṛé*—buckwheat flour rolled into a double cone joined at the base with a smear of white butter on each tip; (*c*) 100 *nahleut*—dough discs stamped with the 'husband and wife' die in butter; (*d*) 100 *chongbu tipkü*—twisted strips of dough which were fastened into bundles of five each. Dusk was falling by the time all the objects had been completed; they had taken two men the better part of twelve hours to make. Small boys had been sent to Gongyop's house to fetch 100 *chimi* (altar lights) which he was lending for the occasion, and to the Mandal's house to fetch a small brass image of the god Chumdendé (a Buddha-like figure) and its cloth panoply.

When everything had been prepared the floor of the *dé-ong* was swept and



covered with a clean mat. Then on this in chalk Tafoor drew very swiftly a rather odd hand (see accompanying illustration) which represents the hand of Buddha; the design in the centre represents a mountain surrounded by sea sorrounded by four big and four small worlds again surrounded by sea. On top of this design was put a basket filled with grain with a rupee at the bottom; on this basket was put the plate with the representation of the house-owner. Then around this in a square were arranged (1) the *choten*, (2) the *chaṛé* dedicated to Sher *moong*, (3) the lighted *chimi* dedicated to Deut *moong*, (4) the *nahleut* for Chyong *moong*, (5) the bundles of *chongbu tipkü* dedicated to Mamoo *moong*, (6) the *gyachen dïri* were placed in each corner, with a lighted *chimi* before each; into the top of these, and also into the image of the house-owner were stuck *dado* in the following colours starting from the left and facing the house altar:

blue white
black
red yellow

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755 (7) In a line with these were placed one hundred heaps of cooked rice on banana leaves dedicated to Lho *moong*. These offerings covered the palm of the hand and were about six feet square.

On the drawn fingers were placed two tables, the higher one to the back; on the lower table was (starting from the left) a *chaṭé* (a big heap of dough), three dishes of water, two dishes of uncooked rice and a big *chimi* (these offerings are for the gods to wash, etc.). On the higher back table were placed (also starting from the left and facing the house altar) Sher *moong*, Lho *moong*, Deut *moong*, Chyong *moong*, Mamoo *moong*. Into the back of each image was stuck a *yé*—a diamond of thread on bamboo supports—of the same colour as the image; into the image of the house-owner was stuck a *yé* (the *yé* represents the supernatural's palace) of all five colours; the six images also had stuck on each side of the *yé* a *tam-sing*, a pointed wooden label inscribed with the supernatural's name in Tibetan, and a *pong*, a thin piece of bamboo with small tufts of white wool down its length which represent the clouds around the supernatural's palace. Finally a large tripod made from three bamboos was lashed so as to centralise over the image of the house-owner; the top above the lashing was stuffed with a cloth and on that was placed the metal image of Chumdendé. Directly above it, suspended from the bamboo ceiling was the canopy of red, white and blue cloth, looking rather like a bird-cage.

By the time the offering was completely erected it was quite dark, but the *dé-ong* was bright with the hundred and more altar lights, and Tafoor had a small oil lamp to read by. After he had arranged everything he put on his lama's coat—he had taken it off and worked in his shirt and drawers—and sat down cross-legged against the altar. In front of him was the gong, and by him Chimpet to hold the light and beat the gong when necessary. By his side was the *kané* with the 'clarionet'. The ceremony consisted of invoking each demon in turn by the reading of the appropriate scripture and the playing of music, and mollifying it by worshipping it as a god and showing the offerings and then dismissing it. For the five devils this took about two hours. Tafoor chanted in the usual lamaist tones. Tempa and Kurma (who arrived rather late) and Chano looked in from time to time, but everybody else stopped in the kitchen, lit by a big smoking wood fire, eating and drinking and gossiping. When the reading from the scriptures was finished, Chano, his wife and children were called in and *pék* by Tafoor with one of the bundles of *chongbu-tipkü*. Then the six images were turned round so as to face the house-door; a narrow path of two lines of flour was traced from them to the door which was then opened; a couple of minutes' silence were allowed for the devils to depart satisfied; and then the images were carried away by the unrelated young men present, while others held torches to illuminate them; the images were thrown away at a fixed spot in the forest.

Tafoor and his helpers went into the kitchen for food—they had been constantly provided with *chi*. Subsequently the offering was demolished, the earth thrown away, and the rice and objects made out of dough eaten by the guests and especially the children; neither the officiating lamas nor the people in whose intention the offering was made may ever eat the sacrificial objects, but other people may without supernatural danger. The basket filled with grain with a rupee inside was given to the *kané*; Tafoor received Rs. 5 or the equivalent in grain.

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MUN CEREMONIAL—ABOONG AK

In the early afternoon Gongyop dedicated a live ox to the Mun god and also arranged on an open-air altar—*chom*—made of two bamboos laid on a bush (see illustration) the following offering. On a brass plate were placed three *chimi*, three heaps of uncooked rice with a stick smeared with butter set into the centre of each, a scarf and a rupee, a scrap of new cloth (it had been begged from a tailor) and Mrs. Chano's necklaces and jewels. The permanent part of this offering was only displayed to gratify the supernaturals, and would be taken back into use the next day. These were all dedicated to the Mun god by Gongyop, who in a long prayer asked the god to accept the offerings and spare the life of the sufferer, who would in recompense devote her life to his service. The ox was then killed and cut up, during which time Gongyop *munthen* called on the gods in meditation. A small portion of the intestines were hashed and cooked with rice, and these Gongyop, assisted by his wife but otherwise ignored, gave to the minor devils, throwing out a handful of food after an invocation to each specific devil (see illustration).

Later that night the solemn and private ceremony of *aboong ak* was performed. We were not able to witness it, but were given the following account:

A large winnowing tray—*Talyung*—is put on the floor with the curved end away from the teacher and the neophyte; at the straight end is placed a low table and on it is placed at the left a scarf with a rupee on it, in the centre a wooden cup filled with *chi* with butter on the rim (*sakyou faat*) and on the right a stone incense burner filled with incense leaves. On the winnowing tray the dedicated portions of the sacrificed animal[1] are laid out in the following order:

[1] An ox is desirable. If a pig is given the neophyte will be unable to expel Lom-doon *moong* (the devil of jaundice); if a goat he will be unable to expel Mat *moong* (this devil produces various unpleasant symptoms which are the result of ancestral quarrels).

opposite the *sakyou faat* cup is the head, facing the table; behind it are the upper intestines, the wind-pipe, oesophagus, etc., called here *oo-koong sha-fot*; to the left is a hind-leg and to the right a fore-leg; between the fore-leg and the intestines is a thigh-bone with some meat left on it called *shang-oh*. When all is arranged the Mun sits behind the table on the left behind the scarf with his pupil to the right of him (or her). First of all the Mun puts the rupee and scarf in the pupil's hands and then recites a prayer which the pupil repeats after him phrase by phrase. The Mun then gets up and stands at the foot of the offering and waves the incense burner over the pupil and the offerings; he then makes a solemn address to the pupil, explaining that he has paid the price to the devils to ransom his body, but on condition of dedicating his life to the Mun god and offering his body as a house for it. The Mun then returns to the same side as his pupil and gives him the buttered cup to drink from three times from three sides—first the side facing the sacrifice, then the opposite side and finally the right side. This drinking of the buttered *chi* is (as in all Mun ceremonials) the ritual consecration of the act undertaken; after this the pupil is bound to study with the teacher for three years.

Of the sacrificial ox one fore-leg and the heart, lungs, liver and intestines

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755 are given to the teacher as fee; the rest of the animal, except the portions on the winnowing tray, are divided up among the sacrificer and his guests. Of the portions on the tray the head, hind-leg, thigh-bone and upper intestines also go to the teacher; the dedicated fore-leg—*derkau*—is cut up raw into small pieces and one piece is given to every household in the village.

Note. In the above description of a lamaist and Mun ceremony I have given the details of the ritual objects which I have not given in the relevant chapters. Although the ingredients of every ceremony are very similar they differ in detail in every case. The details of lamaist offerings and their fabrication are minutely controlled by scriptural instructions. The Mun offerings are much less complicated. The greater number are fixed traditionally and are known to nearly every adult, but they may be varied at the inspiration of the officiating Mun for any particular ceremony.

It will be noticed that every lamaist horoscope entails the performance of certain lamaist ceremonies, and consequently brings money and goods to the body of lamas.

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individual members of the community. Unlike Tibet, where animal sacrifice is practically unknown, many of these ceremonies, particularly those in connection with illness and other manifestations of devils, require the sacrifice of an ox or goat, and on such occasions the Lama is assisted by a Mun; for although the Lama has no objection to assisting at such a very un-Buddha-like ceremony he draws the line at actually taking life himself. He is a physician more than a priest, for he deals with the ills of the physical body rather than with those of the soul. Sometimes he is unable himself to diagnose the cause of trouble, and on such occasions he may call in a *Nunjimu*, a person who by dancing herself into a trance is able to ascertain the cause of the trouble, but not to cure it, this being the Lama's own province. The Lama does not, I think, claim for himself any supernatural power. He is merely "one who knows," as the Lepcha word *Yukman* implies, as opposed to the "ignorant one," or ordinary layman. The whole of his teaching is based upon cause and effect; and once a cause has been ascertained its treatment is merely the carrying out of a definite specified ceremony. This conception of course is quite in accordance with the best medical tradition; but it is more open to doubt whether Harley Street would approve of such treatment as, for instance, the sacrifice of a bullock, coupled with a thousand repetitions of the mystic formula "*Om mani padme hum*," as a cure for general debility. If a man calls in one Lama rather than another it is not because he has necessarily more faith in his powers, or thinks he has a better bedside manner, but because he knows more ceremonies: X may have studied only as far as the cure of the common cold; but Y may know how to ensure that your wife's next child is a boy. Either of these treatments would doubtless find favour in Europe; but in the meantime I cannot honestly recommend a pilgrimage to Lingtem for the purpose!

A boy does not usually become a Lama because he feels it is his right vocation but because his horoscope, prepared at birth, decrees it. Every child is born with certain signs, from

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came from Tibet, and I presume them to be descendants of the pre-Lamaist priests of that country. I have never come across them in Tibet; neither does Waddell nor Mme. David-Neel make any specific mention of them.* I imagine that they are now found only in the more remote parts of Sikkim, and possibly in Eastern Nepal.

Nunjimu are always women, and their male counterpart is known as Pawo. There is, however, no difference in their functions. When a Nunjimu dies the talent passes to some female member of the family, that of a Pawo to a male; but in neither case does it necessarily pass from parent to child. As in the case of Mun and Padim a person only becomes a Nunjimu or Pawo by means of illness, through some form of temporary madness. These people work by dancing themselves into a trance, after which they are believed to be able to diagnose the cause of an illness. It should be noted, however, that they never prescribe any treatment: having made known the cause of disease its cure is carried out by a Mun or Lama. Their functions have been to a great extent already usurped by the latter and they are only called in when a Mun or Lama has failed to effect a cure.

Tafoor's youngest child had been ill for several weeks with what was undoubtedly whooping-cough. He had carried out various Lamaistic services and had also called in a Mun. Finally, with unexpected forethought, he sent the child away to a neighbouring village, hoping that the change of air might do it good. In spite, however, of all his efforts the child got steadily worse. As a last resort he decided to call in the Nunjimu. We had tried several times to get this old woman to tell us about her work, but she always refused: and on this occasion she warned Tafoor not to let me know what she was doing, or the spirit would refuse to function. He, however, was a sceptic, and had only called her in at the earnest

* Waddell, however, mentions an inferior type of sorcerer known as Lha-Ka, or "God's mouthpiece." They "are found frequently in Western Tibet, and may be females. They somewhat resemble the *Nan-jorma* [*sic*] and Pawo of Sikkim, but are not devil dancers like the latter."

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request of his wife: but in order not to frighten her I was given a place behind a screen.

When I arrived I noticed that the altar had already been adorned with a number of small rice *tormos*, which, strangely enough, had been made by a Mun. There were also several bowls filled with parched grain, which had been specially prepared by Tafoor himself. The Nunjimu was dressed in her ordinary clothes, but on her head she wore a thick wreath made from alternate layers of red and white wool. This is called *Peteuk*. She was alone in the room, and was sitting cross-legged on the floor, with her face towards the altar. To one side was a bowl of burning incense, and on the other a bamboo holder filled with *chi*, out of which she drank from time to time. In her left hand she held a bell and in her right the special sacred drum called *Damaru*. This is shaped like a large double egg-cup. Between its faces are attached a pair of pendent leather knobs and a long beaded flap as a handle. When the drum is held by the upper part of the handle and jerked alternately to right and left the knobs strike the faces of the drum. It is often used by Lamas to mark the pauses between different forms of worship.

The Nunjimu started by ringing the bell and playing the drum, slowly at first, with a regular rhythmic beat, at the same time chanting in a low and droning voice. After a time she increased the pace. Nothing happened for over an hour. By now the noise was maddening and reminded me of machine-gun fire: I felt a strong desire to sleep. Suddenly she gave a convulsive shudder and started to work her knees rapidly about. One or two others now came into the room, the Hlaribu amongst them. He paid no attention to what was happening and sat quietly in a corner turning his prayer-wheel. Once or twice Tafoor's wife, with the sick child on her back, came into the room to replenish the drinks, but at no time did she pay any attention to the performance. The Mun Katel was also present. He, however, was no longer sober and dozed with his head sagging down between his feet; "contemplating his anus," was how the others described it.

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it. A baby now made a pool on the floor; nobody took any notice, its mother merely spreading the mess with her bare foot across the boards.

The onlookers now said that the spirit had come, but I was unable to decide, either then or later, whether the Nunjimu was actually in a trance or not. I am inclined to think not, however; but it is probable that the incessant rattle had brought about a semi-hypnotic state. Certainly everyone looked half asleep. After a while she got up from the floor and started to dance, circling slowly round the room. She left her bell on the floor but still continued drumming. It was a slow rhythmic shuffle rather than a dance and reminded me of some aged ballerina trying over the steps of her youth; and failing lamentably. From time to time she turned on her heels and stamped. This caused the floor to shake and the effect was slightly impressive. All the time she went on droning, but her words were almost inaudible. At one moment the spirit was understood to have enquired what presents it was to receive. It said it had come from Nepal and could speak only the language of that country. I listened very intently but could not make out anything even remotely resembling Nepali. Gongyop asked the spirit to converse in Lepcha, at the same time lighting another of the altar lamps to emphasise the fact that this and all the other offerings had been put there in its honour.

The dance continued for about half an hour, and during its progress the Nunjimu gradually made known that the child was being troubled by Cherko Mung. It appeared, however, that its life was in no immediate danger. Tafoor afterwards told me that the cure was easy: it was merely a matter of a Mun making certain sacrifices, coupled with the reading of sacred books by a Lama. Now that the cause of the illness had been definitely established there was no further cause for worry.

The Nunjimu now returned to her former place on the floor. She never once stopped drumming, and now took up her bell again. Gradually the beat became slower and less

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emphatic. I felt as though I was waking out of a heavy sleep: there was a strong desire to yawn, and I noticed that the others did the same. Quite suddenly the drumming ceased; and after a moment of silence one again became aware of other sounds; someone was husking rice outside the house, and fowls were scratching in the veranda. The Nunjimu took up a handful of grain and scattered it on the altar, snatched off her woollen wreath and got up from the floor. The performance was over.

While the dance was in progress I had come out from behind my screen and sat down on the floor amongst the others. The Nunjimu now expressed surprise at seeing me, and said that she had been unaware of my presence. This is the only circumstance that makes me feel that perhaps she was in a trance. I was otherwise not at all impressed; nor, I think, was Tafoor. I asked her to come outside and let me take a photograph. Katel told her not to; but she complied willingly, and even danced again for my benefit, roaring with laughter all the time. I got the impression that she did not really believe in the show herself. When it was over no one discussed what she had been saying; nor did she herself ask what the god had said. This was strange in view of the fact that she was presumed not to know what was happening while the spirit was in possession of her body. Although her speech was at times inaudible, the voice in which she spoke was her own. She had none of the tricks of the European medium, and altogether her show was as unimpressive as theirs. In due course the child recovered.

Lepchas sometimes also employ people known as Yaba and Yama, the former being the male. There were none in Lingtem; but from what I have seen of them in other places they appear to be exactly the same as Pawo and Nunjimu. They are said to be very common in Eastern Nepal and are usually members of the Limbu tribe. In Sikkim, they are found only in villages occupied by both Nepalis and Lepchas; and in the same way that the Pawo and Nunjimu were introduced from Tibet probably came to be incorporated

2: Morris T-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

in Lepcha society through intermarriage with Nepalis. [756]

Before leaving the subjects of illness and sorcery it will be convenient to describe the Lepcha Lama in his function as healer. I have already noted that this is his principal employment, but he also takes part, of course, in the services of general worship held at the monastery from time to time. In Tibet the two functions are not generally combined: a Lama is either a sorcerer or a priest, but never both. There is of course a close connection between the two and they often work in conjunction. In Sikkim, however, this differentiation is not recognised, at least not amongst the Lingtem Lamas, and the two distinct and really quite separate functions are here combined. 793 755

During our stay in Lingtem we had frequent opportunities of seeing Tafoor at work. It would be of no interest to give the details of every ceremony we attended, for except in minor details they did not greatly differ. I propose, therefore, to describe only one such occasion; and since it is a fair sample of them all, to tell the story in some detail.

I have already mentioned that Pichi, the son of Datoop, had spent some years in Gangtok learning to be a carpenter. He finished his course and had returned to Lingtem in March. He looked thoroughly ill; anæmic and emaciated, he appeared to be wasting away. He was unable either to eat or work, and could only drag himself about with difficulty. Datoop brought him one day to see us, when he complained of pain in the heart and side. He asked if we could give him medicine, but there was nothing we could do beyond recommending him to go into Gangtok for treatment. This was shortly after our arrival; and since there were at the time many new things to see and do we thought no more about him.

Pichi, however, got steadily worse, when his father then called in Tafoor. Datoop is himself a Lama, but it would have been a breach of professional etiquette for him to prescribe for any member of his own household. 576

We went to the house about half-past five and found that an

2: Morris T-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

793 ox had been already slaughtered. A number of people were
●755 drinking in the kitchen and in the altar-room next door Tafoor and another Lama were chanting, accompanying themselves with cymbals and drums. The altar was filled with *tormas* of every size and description, some of them embellished with stylised floral designs in coloured butter.* In front of the group of *tormas* was a row of lamps, about a
[373] dozen in number. These had already been lighted and formed the sole illumination of the room. On the ground in front of the Lamas was an object known as *Nak-po-Gosum*, "the
778 black (magical) three-headed one." This was a very elaborate figure of a three-headed hermaphrodite adorned with what looked like bits of stick, brambles and feathers. At the time there was no opportunity to examine it carefully in the semi-darkened room, but since it appeared to be of unusual interest I later got Tafoor to come and make one for me, and its details are given below. The figure itself was about one foot high, but its genitalia, which were prominently displayed, were life-sized. The male organ was shown protruding from the female, with the pudenda hanging below. Some of the blood of the slaughtered ox had been sprinkled over the figure, parts of which had been previously coloured.

755 While the Lamas continued their chanting the patient
793 remained in the kitchen, where the Mun Gongyop was doing some ceremony, with the head and legs of the ox laid out in front of him. It seemed to consist in the constant repetition of the names of various gods and demons. As soon as this was

* The *torma*, or "holy food," which is used in every Lamaist ceremony, is "a high, conical cake of dough, butter and sugar, variously coloured." In Lingtem they were usually made of plain millet paste. Mrs. de Beauvoir Stocks states that the Lepchas "exhibit *tormas* as phallic offerings." I have never come across this suggestion before and believe it to be quite unfounded. I was told in Tibet that the *torma* was originally made in the form of an image of the god to which it was intended as an offering. As ritual became more complicated so the numbers of *tormas* required increased in number (some ceremonies require several hundred), and in this way, perhaps as some form of labour-saving device, the original figure became
[531] stylised into its present conical form. But in any case the Lepcha has no use for symbolism. When he wishes to suggest the human genitalia he represents it as it is: it would never occur to him to do otherwise.

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finished all present went into the altar-room and prostrated themselves several times before the altar. The children, however, omitted this mark of respect. In one corner were two small girls aged about ten and twelve. They were lying on the floor with their knees drawn up, when the mother of the elder, catching sight of her daughter, told her not to display her vulva. This was apparently a quite ordinary remark, for nobody took any notice.

All this time the two Lamas continued to chant, while still playing their cymbals and drum. While this was going on Karma came in and placed a small bag filled with grain round the central neck of the *Go-sum;* he was very drunk at the time. The chanting and playing still continued, and now the *Go-sum* was turned completely round: it now had its back towards the altar. Pichi's mother pulled a few threads out of his coat and dropped them on to the figure. Now Karma took a handful of powdered maize and scattered it on the floor, in the form of a line leading towards the door. This was the road by which the evil spirit, having been expelled from Pichi's body, would finally leave the house. No one might cross this path; and if one wished to get from one side of the room to the other it was necessary to go round and behind the figure, thus avoiding the path. Several men, Karma among them, now lifted the *Go-sum* up and carried it out of the house, carefully following the line of powdered maize. The figure was taken to a spot about four hundred yards away, which had been previously indicated by the Lamas, a boy going in front with a lighted brand to show the way. It was there abandoned and would be eaten by dogs during the night. When it is found that an offering of this sort is not consumed it means that the demons have not accepted it, and that the patient will get no relief from that particular sacrifice.

Singing and drinking were continued throughout the night, but we left as soon as the ceremony was over.

We did not see Pichi for nearly a month, and by then he had completely recovered. He was fat and well, and had a

2: Morris T-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

755 fresh healthy complexion. I could hardly believe my eyes; but such is the nature of faith.

THE GO-SUM AND ITS MYTHOLOGY

THE FIGURE

778 The figure of the Go-sum is first built up roughly on a base of coarse grass and fastened to a small plank by means of a stick, on which it is impaled. The trimmings and anatomical details are added later, and are usually made of dough in order to make for easier working.

The central head, which is somewhat larger than the others, is that of a bull; that on the right a tiger; and the one on the left is a pig. All three are shown with open grinning mouths. In addition to the genital organs, as already described, the figure has female breasts and a large stylised [531] navel, the design of which represents a tortoise holding a magic square. This is said to represent the world. The Go-sum is also provided with a tail in the form of a snake, which lies in coils behind it. Behind the bull's head a single kite's feather is stuck, and the figure is decorated down both its sides with ordinary chickens' feathers. The latter have no significance, and it is said that "the creature was merely born like that." In the palm of each hand is a miniature *Torma*, and another is placed on top of the central head. Each of these is adorned with a dab of butter, which represents clothing and jewels. There is a similar dab on the end of the penis, put there to represent semen. Other dabs round the neck and arms are representative of necklaces and bracelets. On the back of the figure is a small cloth bag filled with grain. This is its food.

782 The ceremony demands the sacrifice of an ox. Since a Lama may not himself take life this is done by a Mun; but the Lama takes some of the blood and sprinkles it over the figure.

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778 *Dungay:* nine. Ordinary small *tormas*, which represent the
●755 stewards who control the servants.

Sunghliyu: one. A small pointed stick painted red. This is stuck in front and to the right of the figure. It represents its sword.

Thum Shing: two. These are small wooden labels. One is for women, the other for men. They are identical in shape and size; but the male has a design of crosses, thus: × × / × ×; and the female is marked like this: # # / # #. These labels are said to represent all the people of the inhabited world. The female is placed on the right, the male on the left.

Pung: six. Small sticks representing spinning rods, and hence women.

Chong: six. Thin bamboo slivers representing arrows, and hence men.

The *Pung* and *Chong* are arranged round the figure so as to form a fence. The arrows are on the right, the spinning rods on the left.

Yay: three. A large red one for the bull; a smaller blue one for the pig; yellow for the tiger.

Yay are used in every Lamaist ceremony other than those of a purely religious nature. They vary in size from elaborate erections, some ten feet in height, to the small ones required for the present ceremony, which are only about ten inches high. The *yay* is an arrangement of bamboo masts, on which is built up a geometrical pattern in twine of various colours. The colours and actual arrangement of the strings vary with different ceremonies. Some of them are extremely complicated and take many hours to make. Tafoor said that a great part of his later instruction was confined to the making of *yays*. As it is he now knows how to make many different kinds and carries all the details in his head. It is said that complete instructions for the making of *yays* have been placed on record, but in Lingtem no one possessed a copy of the book.

The *yay* is a sort of devil-trap or house. As soon as a demon

2: Morris T-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

is expelled or summoned it sees the "house" which has been newly made in its honour and settles there in preference to a human habitation. Having entered it becomes entangled in the arrangement of strings and can then be taken with the offering and thrown away. Simple-minded demons can be trapped with a simple kind of *yay:* some, however, are not so silly and can only be caught in an elaborate arrangement that looks like a series of concentric spiders' webs inside several intertwined triangles. It is well known what sort of *yay* is required to catch any particular demon; and it seems that the latter never learn sense.

The three heads of the Go-sum are coloured respectively red, blue, and yellow to match the *yay* which is stuck behind the neck of each.

Gyong-bo: six. These are thin bamboo slivers with tufts of wool at the top and at intervals down their length. They represent *Tarchuk*, or prayer-flags for the living.

When these things have been arranged round the Go-sum the whole is garnished with leaves, brambles and flowers in season. A handful of assorted grain is sprinkled over it, and all is then complete. It is now taken and placed on the ground in front of the altar, after which the ceremony proceeds. The one Tafoor made for me took him the best part of one whole day; and while he was doing it he told me the following story:

THE STORY

There was once a god named Hla-Chongbu-Gadjen, whose second daughter was in the habit of stealing flowers, the property of other gods. Because of this she was expelled from heaven and sent to live in the world. In due course she was reborn in Nepal, at a place called Pe-Yu Chorten.* Little of the girl's early life is known except that she was an orphan, and was taken into the household of the Maharaja of Nepal.

* This is Tibetan and merely means "(the place of) the Tibetan Chorten." A chorten is a Buddhist tope, or stupa. It is usually in the form of a huge dome.

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"The third son, hearing the elephant's request, 'prayed that he might be re-born in a form to neutralise the evil of the elephant's incarnation; and he was born as Lho-lun phel kyi dorje (the Lama who murdered Lan-darma, the Julian of Lamaism).'

"This stupa is also worshipped by the Nepalese Buddhists, viz., the Newars, the semi-aborigines of the Nepal valley, and the Murmi, a cis-Himalayan branch of Tibetan stock. The name 'Maguta'—pronounced 'Makuta'—is doubtless a contraction for *Makuta bandhana*, the pre-Buddhist 'crested chaitya,' such as existed at Buddha's death at Kusinagara, in the country of the Mallas."

* * * * *

The Go-sum is a strong and very potent cure, and is believed never to fail when correctly prescribed. It can be used to cure illness caused by no less than thirty different devils; also to counteract the effects of evil fortune, when this is "sent" by other humans through the medium of any of these same thirty demons. To ascertain when a Go-sum is necessary reference may be made to a book called *Kukdzeu*. This is a sort of Tibetan "Home doctor," and something like the medieval European books of witchcraft; a strange compound of magic and medicine. I should like, however, to make it clear that the Lepcha does not regard cures of this sort as magic. In his view this is definitely medical science. Provided the diagnosis has been correct the cure is merely a matter of carrying out the prescribed ceremony. In the same way that we are convinced that germs are killed by antiseptics, so does the sick Lepcha know that the offering of a Go-sum will cure him, provided his disease has been caused by any one of the thirty demons over which it has control. Should a patient not recover it is due not to any lack of potency in the Go-sum but to a mistaken diagnosis, a state of affairs which is, after all, not entirely unknown in the West!

I have been told that the Go-sum is unknown in Tibet

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and have found no reference to it in any of the books on that country. In view of the fact that the word is pure Tibetan, one would have expected to find it mentioned. Anyone witnessing the ceremony must have been struck by the peculiarities of the figure itself: but there has been no modern account of Tibetan social life, and it is possible that if any of the earlier travellers saw a Go-sum he may have considered it too shocking to describe! The ceremony is no longer carried out by Lepchas in the Kalimpong district, where missionary influence is strong, but is popular all over Sikkim, where it is held in great esteem by Lepchas and Tibetans alike.

Here is an example of treatment of a different kind. Chano's wife had been unwell for several weeks, but was suffering from no specific illness. Her husband, however, who was himself a Lama, thought there might be something wrong and asked Tafoor to work out a horoscope for the next few months. He did this in our presence; but in order to make it intelligible it is necessary to understand something of the chronological system current in Tibet, as it is used for indicating lucky and unlucky times as well as the times for much of the worship. Except in official correspondence with the outside world it is in use all over Sikkim.

"The Tibetan system of reckoning time, derived from China and India, is based upon the twelve-year and sixty-year cycles of Jupiter. The twelve-year cycle is used for short periods, and the particular year, as in the Chinese style, bears the name of one or other of the twelve cyclic animals:—

1 Mouse (Rat)	1912*	5 Dragon	1916	9 Monkey	1920
2 Ox	1913	6 Serpent	1917	10 Bird (Hen)	1921
3 Tiger	1914	7 Horse	1918	11 Dog	1922
4 Hare (Kite)	1915	8 Sheep	1919	12 Pig	1923,
					1935 and so on.

* The names of animals in brackets are Lepcha variants of the standard Tibetan years. The date opposite each is given as an example of one particular cycle.

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"And in the case of the sixty-year cycle these animals are 805
combined with the five elements (namely: Wood, Fire, Earth, Iron and Water), and each element is given a pair of animals, the first being considered male and the second female. . . . It is by giving a realistic meaning to the several animals and elements, after which the year is named, that the Lamas arrive at their endless variety of combinations of attraction and repulsion in regard to the casting of horoscopes and the prescriptions of requisite worship and the offerings necessary to counteract the evils thus brought to light."

The twelve-year cycle is known as *Lukor* and every Lepcha is taught the name of the animal corresponding to the year of his birth. For this reason it is possible to compute a person's age with considerable accuracy, an unusual state of affairs in a primitive society. An example will make the working of the system clear: Chimpit was born in the "Pig" year, which came round in the cycle in 1899, 1911, 1923 and 1935. His birth can therefore be definitely placed in 1923. With very old people the computation of ages is more difficult, for it is not always easy to decide whether a person is, for instance, seventy-two or eighty-four. But even so, one is unlikely to be more than twelve years out and can generally arrive at the exact age by comparing the estimate with the known age of some other person.

This same twelve-year cycle is also used by the Gurungs, [17]
a tribe inhabiting the southern slopes of the central Nepal Himalaya, as a result of which they are the only Gurkhas whose ages can be computed with accuracy.*

The following treatment which Tafoor prescribed for 751
Chano's wife is preventive rather than curative; it may be 755
compared with the sort of instructions that a doctor gives his patient after a general overhaul.

The patient is being troubled by Dade Mung, a demon sent by some other person. There is also trouble from Tumsi,

* Cf. my *Handbooks for the Indian Army: "Gurkhas,"* Chapter 7.

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one of the demons of quarrels. To get rid of Tumsi a paper must be prepared with its picture stamped upon it. This is to be surrounded by thirteen crossed sticks, representing arrows, since this Mung also causes wars.

After dreaming of a red ox the patient will sweat profusely, and may also have pain in the legs. She should not keep pigs; nor should she buy any blue-coloured cloth. She must buy neither goat nor ox; nor must she sit near a big tree. The flesh of red oxen must be eschewed.

There is also trouble from Hlamin Jimen, who is a god when pleased and a demon when angry. This has imprisoned the patient's soul and put a fence round it, so that for the time being it is not free to wander. The soul is at present living in some place that is neither heaven nor earth, but is between the two. This trouble has come from some other person's enmity, and was probably caused by domestic animals straying into that person's fields and damaging the crops. A death of some sort is indicated; but it will not necessarily be the patient herself. The remedy for this particular difficulty is the carrying out of the *Deut Shagyur Kyok* ceremony. The patient also appears to be restless and cannot bear the smell of high meat; but this can be easily put right by means of the *Chimbu Klong* ceremony.

It is advisable also to carry out the *Dembu Sun* ceremony as soon as possible or the patient may become seriously ill. A good harvest is indicated and the family will be prosperous.

A cause of minor trouble is the antagonism existing between the "year-signs" of husband and wife. For this reason there is, for instance, trouble from Chumen Mung and Leut Dusain. Matsong Rum and Leut Sabdong may also cause some worry. The patient is likely to dream of a broken-down house and a stream: also she may suffer from vomiting. She should not use black thread; neither should she wear any black clothing or purchase anything black. She should take no food offered by people who live at a distance, even though they be her relatives. It is advisable to arrange for Lamas to read the *Tuncheu* as soon as

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possible*; and it might be a good thing to have a figure of a *Gedo* made and abandoned on the path. *Shemen Kyop* should certainly be done, in the near future, since this is clearly indicated. This consists in taking a picture of Tumsi and stuffing it inside the skull of a rat together with twelve small pieces of wood, to represent arrows, tied round it. This is then to be taken out and buried in the ground at the junction of two paths.

The following additional information was added for the benefit of Chano's child.

The child should not go to any house where people are quarrelling, and should particularly avoid places where corpses are being burnt: nor should she mix with people of low cast, such as Blacksmiths or Musicians! For the next few months she should also attend no wedding. She will be troubled by Mutnyam Chen, a demon which causes shooting pains, shortness of breath, and pains in the heart. The left shoulder will be particularly painful. She should not be present at the time cattle or bows and arrows are purchased; nor should she eat the flesh of any diseased animal. It would be better also not to allow her to play with knives. The reading of the following books will undoubtedly be beneficial: *Numchiya; Tukzung; Chozum; Numsa Numget; Chunjet*, and any others available.

The *Chenmo* ceremony also appears to be indicated, for which a bundle composed of a monkey's head, dog's head, and a piece of iron is necessary. The child will always be in some danger of dying, and the same may be said of its mother! At the present moment demons and gods are quarrelling amongst themselves for mastery of the child's body; and if the demons win she will surely die. For this reason good treatment is essential, or the child may suffer unnecessarily. If she lives until after November she will in

* The reading of books is very commonly prescribed, especially in Tibet. In order to get through the several bulky volumes within a reasonable time it is usual to call in a number of Lamas, each of whom reads aloud, but all at the same time, a different book or chapter for the benefit of the person concerned. This idea might well be incorporated into Western medicine: an order to read, for instance, the whole of *Chambers's Encyclopædia* might have a most salutary effect; provided, of course, that the patient did not hire others to do it for him!

751 If she lives until after November she will in
755 future be lucky, especially should she engage in any form of
[777] trade. She will always have plenty to eat and drink and her later life will be "like a flower." It is clear, however, that some childless woman is covetous of her mother. At the present time she is listless; always in a hurry, and seems perhaps to pay no attention to her parents. This is because a demon has taken charge of her soul.

It is possible that the child may dream of corpses: also she may excrete and vomit blood, in which case she may have no desire for food. This, however, will be averted provided the treatment is carefully followed. The child will in any case suffer from coughs and colds during the next few months; but for this nothing can be done. They will not be dangerous.

743 Tafoor's fee for the consultation, at which the patient was
[466] not present, amounted to two rupees. The ceremonies, however, were much more expensive, but had not been completed by the time I left Lingtem.

743 We have already seen that in Sikkim the Lama functions
754 both as priest and doctor; but there is another side to his activities which may definitely be classified as magic or sorcery. This part of his work may best be considered under three separate headings: the causing of death, and sending of devils to cause harm; love magic; and finally, charms and spells.

754 The ability to cause the death of others is not apparently confined to Lamas and is occasionally carried out by laymen. The outward and visible sign of the ceremony consists in burning butter and incense over which copper has been scraped. A chicken must also be sacrificed and its blood offered to the demons. It is believed that by this means the selected demon gets a full stomach and will then do what is asked of it. It seemed so easy and simple a rite that I asked Tafoor if I could not do it myself; but "No," he said; "you have not been long in this country and the Mungs do not yet know who you are!"

Tafoor says that he has personally never sent a demon to

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The Mun Gongyop making an offering. He is assisted by his wife, who squats on the right. The object in the saucepan is a bamboo strainer, out of which she is ladling *chi* to refill the cup which Gongyop is holding.

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Tafoor "prescribing" for Chano's wife. Chano, on the left, appears to be somewhat doubtful of the issue; or perhaps he is wondering whether he can afford the necessary "treatment."

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A *Mung-Li*, or demon's house, on the edge of a cardamom field.

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843 may not be neglected in order to bring about an abortion, or the early death of the child, since this would also cause the death of the mother. Incidentally, it may be noted that if a baby is seen at any time to be suffering from swollen
● [755] stomach (wind?) it is usual to wave a bladder over it which is filled with various kinds of grain and butter.

[824] Here are some more pre-natal precautions. Wild potatoes should not be eaten if found lodged between two stones. Poles should not be stuck into the ground; and it is inadvisable to tie anything into a knot, or drive in nails. It would be well also to avoid putting the small stones in between the large ones to fill up the cracks in building a wall. Care should be taken not to look upon a dying or dead snake, as this would certainly bring misfortune of one sort of another.
[821] One should not look at a solar or lunar eclipse or the child will certainly be stillborn; and in the case of a solar eclipse it would be better to remain indoors all day. If some child has recently died, both its house and the paths it was accustomed to use should be avoided; and it is indeed better to avoid the house of any recently deceased person. No
[845] paint or other colouring matter should be put on the body during the months of pregnancy or the stains will be reproduced on the body of the child. If it is necessary, for any reason, to sew food up in a bag, care should be taken that it is not again taken out from the sewn end, or this will result in breech presentation. If it is necessary to open such a bag the unsewn bottom end should be slit open and the sewn top left intact.

843 There was one small girl in Lingtem who squinted. This
826 was the result, so everyone said, of her father squinting with one eye, perhaps to aim or to see if a roof was straight, during her mother's pregnancy; and nearly every physical defect of this sort, birth-marks, and such-like, is attributed to the neglect of some pre-natal precaution. All these precautions—and there are doubtless many more of which I have no knowledge—must be observed by both parents from the fifth month of pregnancy until three days after the

5:Nebesky-Wojkowitz and Gorer E.J-5 (1937, 1950) 1951
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carried out, while the basket and the two wooden plates are dragged along the path to the door. Once in the open, the basket is put in a tree, the *Chien lut* carried away to some other place and the image of Debrong Panoh's mother is thrown into the water-fall of a stream.

This rite contains some of the Bŏn elements mentioned before; further more this thunder and hail demon strongly resembles the appearance of gods as described by the Bonpos. Like many of the Bŏn deities, it is the personification of a natural phenomenon, depicted in the usual Bonpo manner, with nine faces and eighteen hands.

(5) For exorcising an evil spirit, who is causing an illness, several books must be chanted by a lama and two *deu*, called in Lepcha *chemen gedo* and *lumoo gedo* set upon a path. These Lepcha expressions are derived from the Tibetan terms *mTsho sman rgyal mdos* and *kLu mo rgyal mdos*, which are applied for two different kinds of thread-crosses, dedicated to certain groups of Nagas (*kLu*).

(6) While curing the illness, which had befallen a child, a horoscope was cast by a lama and it was decided that besides other rites a red thread-cross, called Tsen Deu, should be constructed. This *deu* is doubtlessly identical with a red *mDos* of the Tibetans, the *bTsan mdos* (pronounced *Tsen do*), which is constructed for averting the evil influence of the red *bTsan* demons.[31]

4. CEREMONY, PERFORMED BY LAMAS AND MUN FOR AVERTING AN ILLNESS

After a Mun has sacrificed an ox, some lamas erect a *torma* and sprinkle consecrated water and then make a tortoise, called *robe* in Lepcha—which corresponds to the Tibetan *Rube, Rus sbal*—which is drawn with its belly upward in powdered rice on a large mat. Afterwards, a square with various numbers, called *Miwua* (in Tibetan *sMe ba*)[32], is inscribed upon the body of the tortoise, in the following way:

4	9	6
3	5	1
8	2	7

5:Nebesky-Wojkowitz and Gorer E,J-5 (1937, 1950)1951
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On the junction of 5 and 2, a plate is placed, containing an image of the invalid dressed with parts of his clothes. This effigy is surrounded by cones, representing years, and twisted pieces of dough which are waved over the invalid for exorcising the evil influence.[33] The effigy is surmounted by a *yeu* made of black, red, yellow and white thread and on both sides of the thread-cross some *tamsing* and *pong* are placed. Then various objects are laid upon each field of the magic diagram : Leaves of a tree called *gevo kanoh*, twisted pieces of dough, several triangular tormas surmounted by *yeu*—one of them in blue, the others white—a phallus-shaped cone tipped with butter,[34] and a bamboo holder containing water and surmounted by a flag, called Tarchoh. In the central square is placed a heap of bones consisting of six skulls of dogs and goats and two breastbones of sheep. After chanting prayers, burning incense and presenting offerings to the spirits, butter lamps are lit and a bow and a rope made of yak hair are brought into the room. This rope, which is called *sanong takpo* (it may be mentioned, that *Thag pa*, is the expression for rope in Tibetan) is reported to be used only in this ceremony.

Finally, a basket is taken by a friend of the family and held outside the house in front of the door. When the tray bearing the image of the invalid is incensed and the officiating priest addresses himself to the spirits telling them that they receive a substitute for the sick person, whom they should therefore release from their influence. At this moment, the invalid's father enters the room wearing a black cloth upon his shoulders and steps upon the central square of the tortoise. A stick is handed over to him, which he rests against his right big toe, while a helper pushes the heap of skulls previously placed upon this square, against his heels. Then the yak hair rope is drawn over the father's head, starting from his back, and placed against his ankles, while the tray containing the image of the sick person is lifted over his head and put into a basket, filled with leaves and grain. The father is then given a drink of water, which he spits into the basket. The contents of this are moved to

5:Nebesky-Wojkowitz and Gorer E,J-5 (1937, 1950) 1951
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a bigger container. The father now steps from one square of the drawing to the other; his black cloth is removed when reaching square 7, while a black *yeu*, which was placed upon this square, is replaced by a white one. Then, after exchanging his stick for the bow, he proceeds to square 4, where he stops for a while, sprinkling Lepcha beer over the sick person.

In the last part of the ceremony, twisted pieces of dough are waved over the invalid as well as over those standing nearby, while prayers are chanted by the officiating priest. After making a path of ground rice towards the door, the image of the invalid is carried out together with all the other offerings and laid into the basket which is held ready outside the house. Immediately, the carriers have passed the entrance, the door is shut on them. Finally, the basket with its contents is taken to a river and thrown into the water while in the house of the sick the chanting of prayers is continued.

The ritual here described is again identical in its general outline with the *lTo* ceremonies. Many objects are used, which we identified as being important implements of the Bo'n priests: however, there are also some new elements. Thus the drawing of a tortoise bearing a magic diagram upon its belly often occurs in Tibetan representations, especially on objects used in astrology. In this connection it should be mentioned that among a group of minor Tibetan deities called *Sa bdag*,[35] "earth owners" a cosmic tortoise named *gSer gyi rus sbal*,[36] "the golden tortoise" is mentioned and that other *Sa bdag* are depicted riding tortoises. The Lepchas too regard the tortoise as a cosmic creature; their lamas explain, that the *robe* is living in a subterranean sea and is kept down by the mountain Kanchenjunga, which rests upon its centre.

The peculiar flag, which is placed on top of the bamboo container, is also found upon Tibetan objects, used in rituals performed for the *Sa bdag*. Its Lepcha name—*tarchoh*—corresponds to the Tibetan *Dar lchog*, pronounced *Darcho*.

5:Nebesky-Wojkowitz and Gorer E,J-5 (1937, 1950)1951
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6. THE GYAPCHI KLON CEREMONY

This complicated ceremony is carried out concurrently by lamas and Mun priests in order to free a sick person from the evil influence of certain spirits, the presence of which was recognized by divination. As this rite has already been described elsewhere,[37] only the image used and the various thread-crosses will be described.

During this ceremony, five images are made of buck-wheat dough and placed in front of an altar-like structure. Four of the effigies, said to represent male spirits, are depicted alike, that is standing, with raised hands; some scratches in the dough indicate that they are wearing a garment. The names of these four supernatural beings are Chyong moong, Deut moong, Lho moong and Sher moong. Their respective colours, rendered in the same order, are green, red, yellow and white. The fifth image is that of Mamoo moong, a female supernatural being whom we encountered previously. Her image is black and she is portrayed with legs apart, the sexual organs greatly exaggerated. Behind each of the images, a *yeu* of the respective colour is planted, together with two *tamsing* and two sticks with tufts of wool.

Another image, used in this rite, is called the "house owner". It is surrounded by small butter discs displaying images, impressed with wooden printing blocks (the Tibetan *Zan par*). Some of these depict the supernatural beings who preside over the cycle of twelve years.[38] The image of the "house owner" is connected with one *yeu*, two *tamsing* and two *pong*. The thread-cross used in this case is multi-coloured.

7. RITUAL, PERFORMED BY A LAMA TO APPEASE THE FEVER DEVIL DEUT-MOONG

After reading prayers, the lama, using bamboo sticks and blue thread, constructs a thread-cross, which is called *moong-ka deu bitomu*. After placing various sorts of grain, leaves, some fried rice and bread into the *deu*, he makes

5:Nebesky-Wojkowitz and Gorer E.J-5 (1937, 1950) 1951
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a small image, which is afterwards connected with the thread-cross. Then the whole structure is offered to Deutmoong and finally somebody, who was designated by the lama, has to take this offering to a place in the forest where it is left to be eaten by animals. This ritual also corresponds to the ancient Tibetan *lTo* rites previously mentioned. In this connection it is interesting to note, that also in Tibet leaves or pieces of paper are placed in the thread-cross, usually in such a manner as to form the main features of a face. Occasionally a ceremonial scarf (*Kha btags*) is draped over the *mDos*.

8. RITE FOR AVERTING INFANTILE DIARHOEA

If several children die of infantile diarhoea, it is assumed that their death was caused by a malignant spirit, called Sande moong. The Lepchas know two ceremonies for appeasing his anger. For the first a black dog is made with a rider on its back and two *yeu*, a black and a white one are placed upon the dog's head, while a red thread-cross is planted behind the rider.

The second ceremony has already been described elsewhere.[39] In this ceremony a life-sized cat with a very long tail is made out of dough. A rider, sitting upon a horse's saddle is placed on its back and four images of men are put in front of and behind the cat. The animal is led by strands of coloured thread, wound around its neck and held by the rider and the images in front. The rider carries a red thread-cross; on the left-front side of the tray a white *Yue* is placed, on the right front a black one, on the right hand rear a white and on the rear left a yellow. To each *Yeu* a *Tamsing* with wool of the same colour as the thread-cross is added.

9. EXORCISM, CALLED DEUT SHAGU KYOB

For curing a person who has fallen ill through the influence of an evil spirit called Hlamen Djeme Pum, a

5:Nebesky-Wojkowitz and Gorer E,J-5 (1937, 1950)1951
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ceremony—which again corresponds to the Tibetan *ITo* rites—is performed.[1] An effigy is offered as substitute for the sick man or woman and afterwards carried far away from the house, in which the invalid lives. During this ceremony, also various thread-crosses are used. The name of this exorcism is nearly identical with the name of a Tibetan ceremony, called Dushel-gugyur (*bDud zhal dgu hsgyur*), "transfering the nine-faced *bDud-* demon". A treatise, composed by the well-known Indo-Tibetan mystic Padmasambhava, describing the performance of this ceremony, is reported to exist in Tibet.

10. KEEPING AWAY ILLNESS AND DEATH FROM A HOUSE

When divination has revealed that a household is in danger of being attacked by spirits of illness and death, a ceremony called Nambo Sagor must be held by the lamas. First a dog's skull is hung over the door by means of a rope, to keep away all diseases which come over the ground. Then a pig's skull is buried under the fire-place, to keep away the diseases above it. While this is done, other lamas chant from books; rice and sacred water are sprinkled and a *torma* as well as a *yeu* are made. This ceremony shows a similarity to the Tibetan rites described by Waddell which are performed to protect a house from the influence of the *Sa bdag*.

11. CURING AN ILLNESS BY MEANS OF THE GO SUM RITE

This is a complicated ceremony, concurrently performed by lamas and Mun priests, during which a hemaphrodite image with three heads is erected. This effigy has a distinctly Tibetan name: it is called Nagpo Gosum (in Tibetan spelling *Nag po mgo gsum*), "the black three-headed one". It has two hands and its three heads seen from left to right, are those of a blue pig, red ox and yellow tiger. Behind the image, three *Yeu* of the same colour as the respective heads, are planted, and two *tamsing* are

[1] [see cat.116, p.73. – Analyst]

placed behind the two upraised arms. A cloth, in its shape similar to that worn by dancers in Tibetan religious dances, is hung upon its shoulders. As a comprehensive description of further details of this image is available elsewhere[40] we would merely draw notice to the detail that the navel of the effigy is formed by a tortoise with a magic diagram upon its belly. This tortoise was described when speaking about the sacrifice to the hail demon Debrong Panoh. This rite also corresponds to the Tibetan *lTo* ceremonies and is regarded by the Tibetans as being purely of Bonpo origin.

12. KILLING THE MALIGNANT SPIRIT AROT MOONG, WHICH CAUSES VIOLENT DEATH

For this ceremony, a big horse and four smaller ones, all carrying riders on their back are made of millet dough, coloured red. Behind each rider, a red *yeu* together with *pong* sticks is planted and the smaller images are then placed into the four corners of a wooden plate, while the bigger image is put into the centre. In front of this a black figure of the *mamoo* is placed, together with an inflated animal's bladder. Other objects used in this ceremony are symbols of the 12 years cycle, four pots containing scrapings of iron, tree tips, poison and water from five rivers and various crops in leaf plates, prickly plants, and again arrows and spindles. The rest of this ceremony is described in *Himalayan Village* (p. 352). The four red images of riders seem to represent spirits, related to or identical with the *bTsan* demons of the Tibetans, who imagine these supernatural beings as ferocious riders of red colour. The red thread-cross would be then the *bTsan mdos* (or *tsen deu* of the Lepchas), as used in rite no 3.

13. THE SHIDOOK KYOB CEREMONY

If it is assumed that a person's death was caused by the demon called Shidook Moong, the ceremony called Shidook Kyob has to be performed. As this rite has already been

[see cat. 116, p. 78. - Analyst]

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796 walk in the courtyard. (Were anybody else to put on the neck-
[88] lace on me the gods would be angry, and the rash man would receive the burden of the gods.) When I return everybody is hushed even the children.

I blow into each person's face and on the offering;
[787] then I scatter chi and prophesy in a loud and audible voice the things which are going to take place in the following half year. After the prophecy, I recover consciousness; but not till cock crow next day do I feel all right again.

● 755 When I am called in the case of an illness, the god does not fully enter me but I see the devil which is attacking the sick person either in the form of some animals or insect or person, depending on which devil it is. Thus Lum-dong-
[776 mong appears in a pig, Sor-moog as a dirty ragged old woman,
787] Arot-moong as a red butterfly. I see these visions out of the corner of my eye; if I look directly there is nothing there. But I watch these devils carefully out of the corner of my eye; if they go away without eating anything the patient will recover quickly; but if they take food the patient will probably die though I only tell him that the illness is very serious."[89] (fig. 19.)

(h) The Sacrifices of the Mun and the Bong-thing

755 We had the opportunity of being present at and observing
782 the sacrifice for a sick woman, by the Lha-ba Bong-thing (who is also a Pau). This sacrifice is called Mung-zug-fat. Mung-zug means "to cast out demons"; "fat" is sacrifice. To start with, all the things necessary for the sacrifice are kept in readiness. The Torma of rice and butter are arranged. The chi containers are filled, the butter-lamps are put up; incense and holy water are kept ready. A bullock is then brought near the front door of the house. A rope is tied to its right horn and the other end of the rope is taken into the house, and the sick woman is asked to hold it in her hand. The Bong-thing then comes near the ox and says, "Instead of the life of the woman, take the life of the ox. I am giving you the life of this ox in lieu of the life of this woman. His

89. op. cit. p. 220 sq.

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life is of greater value than hers. Take it! The body and soul of the ox are greater than those of this person. Take them! Leave the people in peace." As he says this he offers chi, rice and butter, laying these three sacrificial gifts on the forehead of the animal. Then, he says with greater emphasis, "The body and the soul of this animal must be sacrificed." The ox is then killed by the blow of an axe on the nape of its neck. Any one except a woman, can perform the actual killing; for if a woman were to kill the animal it would be a terrible misfortune and no one would be allowed to eat the meat. The head of the ox is then severed from the body and the body is carved up. The legs are taken off, the entrails and the internal organs are drawn out, the head is taken off, the thorax is divided vertically into two, and the loins with the tail are dissected.

The first part of the sacrifice is performed in front of the house near the door. Except for the head, loins, tail and the entrails, the left side of the animal is sacrificed to the demons. From the more valuable parts, *e.g.* the heart, liver, spleen, kidneys and lungs, only very small pieces are taken away for the sacrifice to the demons. The Torma for about fourteen demons are placed on a little table; for Ge-be-mung, Techū-mung (the fever-demon), Tsang-dog-mung (the demon who causes stiffness in the limbs), Me-sun-mung (the life-spirit), Mōg-nyan-mung, Ka-so-mu, Me-mu and others whose names we could not ascertain. It is believed that the demons are appeased through this sacrifice, that they leave the sick person and come no more into the house.

The second part of the sacrifice takes place inside the house. The right side of the animal together with the head, the more valuable parts, the entrails, the loins and the tail are ranged in the following manner: In the large room a little distance away from the fire place, the skin of the animal is spread on the floor with its hairy side down, and the tail end nearest the fire place. Over this the skull is laid at the head end, with the snout pointing to a little table which is placed against the wall opposite to the fireplace. A little behind the skull the fore and the hind legs are placed on the right and left side of it. In between the legs are laid the breast bones, the loins, the tail, entrails and the valuable parts. These cover

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755 782 778 776 755 782 up the entire skin. The blood is not used at all. On the little table that is against the wall the Tormas are deposited and in front of them the two butter-lamps. The order of the Tormas is as follows: (See the drawing figs. 20 & 21) 1. Rum-thing-bo-a-mu, the wife of the supreme God. 2. Rum-thing-bo-a-bo, the Supreme God. 3. Nyom, the daughter-in-law. 4. Rum-thing-bo-ta-gri-kŏb, the son of the Supreme God. 5. San-tug-kan-dro-mu (San-tug is a place below Algara; Kan-dro-mu is evidently like the Tibetan bKa-gro-ma, a sky fairy.) 6. Don-dyŏ-chi-log, another spirit who personifies both the intoxicating drinks, dyŏ and chi. Each of these six deities has on either side of it two servants who are called Bya-ro. Torma number 2, which represents the Supreme God, is the largest. It is about five inches high, of oval shape and is decorated with ten small lumps of butter as is shown in the drawing. Torma number 1, the wife, is smaller, being about four inches high and round in shape with the same decorations of butter. Tormas number 3 to 6 are similar to number 1, except that they are three inches high only. In front of this row are three Ka to, Tormas number 7, 8 & 9. In a squarish socket five cone shaped objects are placed. These are perhaps symbolical of the five-peaked mountain, but we could find out nothing more definite about them. Torma number 10 is a deity, Ka-to-sam or Gon-hiu-so. It is about two inches high, conical in shape, and decorated with streaks of butter. The Tormas of the Bya-ro servants are all alike, a little smaller and devoid of decorations. Before the table on which are placed the Tormas and the butter-lamps, there are five bamboo vessels and a wooden cup filled with chi. The cup, which stands fourth from the left, has its rim decorated with three little lumps of butter and is called San-dyŏ. We notice here again the names "chi" and "dyŏ" borne by the sixth deity. In front of these vessels there is a second small table, and six piles of rice placed on six banana leaf-plates lie on it. On top of each pile of rice are deposited a rib of the sacrifice and tiny pieces of the heart, liver, lung, spleen and kidneys. The number SIX is therefore a standard,—there are six principal gods, six chi containers, six piles of rice and six pieces of meat.

A banana leaf-plate containing rice is placed behind the skin on which the pieces of sacrificial flesh had been placed.

[Text continues on p. 63]

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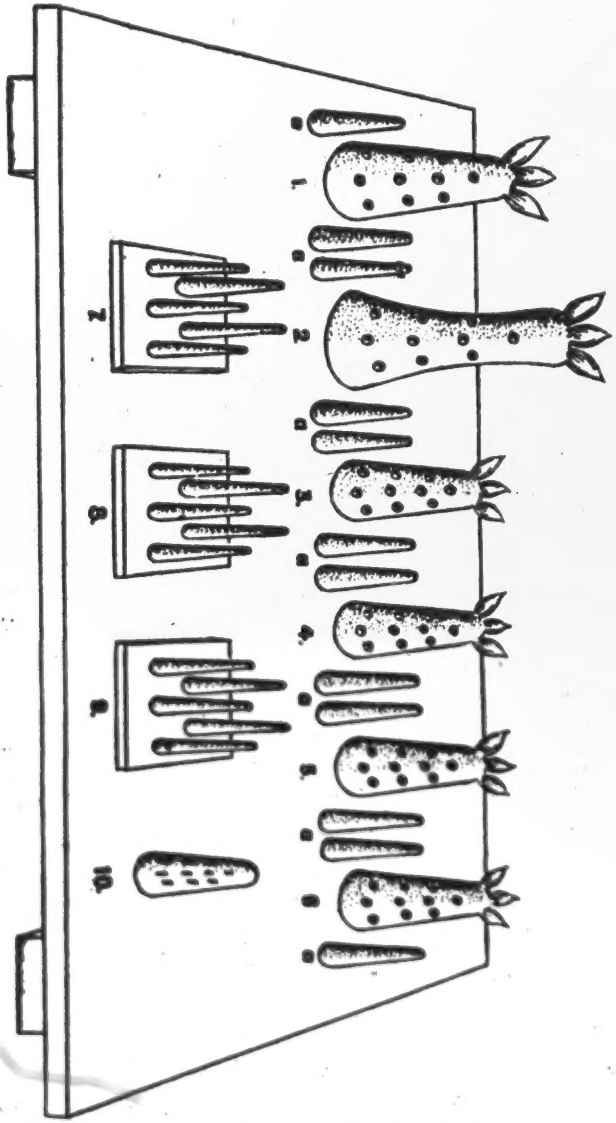

Fig. 20, Tormas of the gods

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Fig. 21, The cattle sacrifice

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On the right side of this plate is an earthenware pot filled with water. The Bong-thing sits in front of the sacrifice with his back to the fire. Beside him is an assistant holding a brazier with incense. The incense consists of dried twigs from the cypress trees of Tibet. The Lepchas call the tree "dag-dŏl-gung." The priest takes in his right hand the "purifier" which is made out of three branches of Amliso, *i.e.* Po-chior. He then summons the god and when the branches move to and fro, it is a sign that the spirit has come. Now the Bong-thing begins the sacrificial prayer, "Sang so (incense is burnt); tza ni bu tza lo! tzab den bu geno! (Incense offering! Tibetan name—magic formula, praying it, holy water is to be sprinkled from the pitcher; it appears to be corrupt Tibeta tzab, which is the same as chab, signifying water.)

"To the star god, the Gun dŏ god, the sun god, the Sam yig god, the Sog god, the Gŏm shi god, the Gŏm yu god (I make) this offering of incense. The offering (I make) in the smoke of incense. Come hither O gods! Gold Torma and money Torma I offer in sacrifice. Come hither Ka to and Gon hiu. I offer in sacrifice. Spirit of the millet beer—and spirit of the rice offering come hither. The sacrifice is offered, the incense offering is made. tza ni bu tza lo! tzab den bu geno (magic formula). Goddess Amu mŏn mu, Ha mu, Mi lig mu, Miă song mu, Chu mu, Yuk mu, Se mu; son Chu go ri go chen chen, daughter-in-law Nyom mu, father and mother! [80]

60. sa her rum bu	gun dŏ rum bu	sa dsug rum bu	sam yig rum bu
(to the) star god,	Gun dŏ god,	sun god,	Sam yig god,
sog rum bu	gŏm shi rum bu	gŏm yu rum bu	sang blong ga
Sog god,	Gŏm shi god,	Gŏm yu god,	offering of incense

pŏ blong ga! (incense is offered here) kŏg ma o! dyăr pa dong, gom pa
in smoke, incense offering, in smoke! come here! Gold Torma, money

dong dăn dong dăm dong hiu o! Ka to gon chiu blong ga! dăn dong
Torma sacrifice! sacrifice! Ka to and Gon hiu come here! sacrifice,

hiu dăm dong hiu ma o. Chi log so log
sacrifice! Millet beer(spirit), rice offering (spirit)

blong ga dăn dong hiu dăm dong hiu o! ŏn sang so! sang so!
come here! sacrifice! sacrifice! Incense offering, incense offering!

tza ni bu tza lo! tzab den bu geno! Amu mŏn mu, ha mu, mi lig mu,
(Magic formula while water is sprinkled) (All are names for the wife of

miă song mu, chu mu, yuk mu, se mu; chu go ri go chen chen bu
the God). (Name of the son of the Supreme God)

776 I offer the smoke of incense. Come hither! To the father and to
●755 the mother I offer gold Torma, I offer money Torma; I offer,
762 I offer, I offer incense to San tug kan dro mu; come hither! I offer incense; come hither! I offer to Chi, the millet beer spirit, to the rice offering spirit, to Dyö, the millet beer spirit; come hither! Verify this, O God, that we are sick. Come hither and tell it; come here and say it. How the head is racked with pain, the loins ache, the body, the hands, the feet are paining and the belly is aching, this O God verify. Come hither and state it. How the demons bite that examine ye gods; come here and tell it. In this manner I sacrifice this bound bull for the sick person. As a substitute for the body and the soul I offer this bull. I offer this substitute of life; I sacrifice this bound bull as a substitute for the body. I sacrifice this bound bull to Ge bu."[60a]

[539] 60a. nyom mu — (Daughter-in-law of the Supreme God).
yab yum pong — Father, mother (Tibetan names for the whole family of the God.)

sang blong ga — kög ma o! — yab yum dyär pa dong
I offer smoke of incense! Come here! To Father, Mother I offer gold Torma.

gom pa dong — dzän dong hiu — fat ma o
I offer money Torma, I offer! — I offer!

San tug kan dro mu sang blong ga — kög gad mao.
To San tug Kan dro mu offer of incense! — Come here!

plö blong ga kög gad mao!
offer of incense, come here!

chi log — so log — sang dyö ma djin — blong ga
Millet beer (spirit), — Rice offer (spirit), — Millet beer (spirit) — offer!

kög gad mao go yu song dog non — rum dyop ga — plö buo dön ga
Come here! That we are sick, examine this O God now. — Come here and tell us.

plö buo — sareb song adyak non
Come here and say it. — How the head aches,

achyang dog non — me so dog non — a go a tong dog
the loins pain, — the body pains, — hands and feet pain,

ta bak dog — a yu rum pong dyop ga — plö buo!
the belly aches. O God examine these things. — Come here and tell it.

an sareb song — mung nöng trug bang ga rum dyop ga — plö buo
How the demons bite examine that ye gods. — Come here and tell it.

alom bö mad — big djäk chim yu re söm
In this way I sacrifice this bound bull for the sick person.

me sö löm — sa lo löm — big bu
As a body substitute, as a soul substitute — I sacrifice this bull.

sok löm bu — me sö löm
I sacrifice this substitute of life, as a body substitute

big djäk bu mo — Ge bu long big — long djäk bu mo.
this bound bull I sacrifice. — To the Ge bu, this bull, this bound bull I sacrifice."

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During the prayer, the one who performed the sacrifice added the expression "lang nam" in chosen places; it means "the year of the bull," because the sick person was born in the year of the bull. Lang is the Tibetan expression for the Zodiac bull. As the prayer ended, the assistant took some of the sacrificial meat, rice and chi and offered it to Me-sum-mung, the demon who represents the life-principle.

And so the sacrifice came to an end. The portions of meat were cleared away. The fore and hind legs and the valuable parts were given to the priest. The remainder of the meat, as also the skin, were sold in order to enable the family to make a little money. A very small portion of the meat was eaten immediately after the sacrifice. These sacrifices involve a heavy expenditure for the family ; often many sacrifices are offered for the same illness if it is protracted, and this causes the ruin of many people. Hence many prefer to invite the lamaistic monks of the Brug-pa sect, because they are willing to drive out demons of illness at lesser expense.

A female Mun, Mai-li-mo-la-dza-ni, whose personal name is Chin-dün, and who lives near Git-biyong described a similar sacrificial ceremony to us which she holds at the ripening of the millet crop. The preparatory arrangements for the sacrifice are the same as mentioned above, with the following differences: There are only five Tormas for the five deities namely : Sa-dzug-rum, the sun god who is regarded as the Supreme Being, Ni-gung-mön, his wife, Ta-dik-köb, the son, Nyom, the daughter-in-law, and San-tug-kan-dro-mu. There are again two lamps, but five bamboo containers containing chi, five banana leaves with rice, five varieties of meat, and incense, and holy water containers. She is helped by her personal spirits who are Darmit, Dartik, Sang-mu, Dang-mu-rum, Asog-rum, Tzang-rum. The sacrifice progresses in the same sequence as above. This Mun was twenty years old when she fell ill with heart trouble. The Bong-thing A-du said to her, "You must become Mun." She was an apprentice to the female Mun Dja-ge-mo. In addition to her Mun belief, she also practises Lamaism, and has a little prayer wheel and prayer cord. We could not obtain the text of the prayers used in her sacrifice.

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765 782 776 From the Gu-gu Bong-thing we procured the text of another prayer said during the sacrifice of a sick person: "Fa dong dju and Fa dong dō, Gom shi, Gom yu gods! (invocation). The earth was created, the water was created, the whole world was created. The millet beer offering chi and the rice offering so were created. The Tōg bu ta she was created. Come hither, ye spirits. For the benefit of the creatures, of the world, and of the whole existing creation I sacrifice in this manner. Against suffering and harm I sacrifice. For myself I sacrifice. To the house-hold gods I sacrifice. As it has been handed down from the beginning of earth's creation, so must we sacrifice. Then to the deities of this house (of the sick man), to the Great God of the aTzam sacrifice, to the gods [774] of the soul and the life-spirit (of the sick man), to the Darmit[61]

[539] 61. Fa dong dju fa dong dō
Fa dong dju and Fa dong dō (names for the male and female family gods; dong is the tribal name; dju is the male Himalayan mountain spirit; dō is the female spirit, that comes from the river).

gom shi gom yu rum lyang it ung it
Gom shi and Gom yu gods! The earth was created, the water was created,

lyang sōg dōm it chi log so log it
the whole world was created. Millet beer offering, rice offering were created.

lyang tōg bu ta she it ga.
Then Tōg bu ta she was created. (This is Tak bo thing or Ta she thing so often mentioned, who was the first man or the son of the Supreme God Ta she thing.)

plō sog dōm long ming
Come here! (invitation to the spirits). For the creature's interests of the

dam ga son dōn dog ga alom sug bam
whole world and of the whole existing creation I sacrifice in this manner.

adog anot sa pe ka sug bam
Against suffering and harm I sacrifice.

ga do sug to bam rum dar ngag to bam
For myself I sacrifice also. To the household gods I sacrifice at once.

yang ayit plō nōng
Likewise as it has been handed down from the beginning of earth's creation

sug gad bam along do do li rum
thus must we make sacrifice. Now to the deities of this house, to the

atzam athing rum
Great God of the aTzam sacrifice (aTzam sacrifice is the name of the sacrifice which is laid on the bull's forehead, as we saw above),

smung gung man la rum pong darmit rum pong
so the soul and the life-spirit (of the sick man) gods, Darmit gods,

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and the Dartik gods, to the water and the flood gods, to all the gods together I sacrifice now. To our life-spirits and soul gods, to Darmit, the god of life's destiny, to Alat and Ayek, the gods of procreation, to the benefactors of the souls, to the gods who lend the strength of life, I must sacrifice, since I know how to do so. The god of my personal destiny is witness; if I do not sacrifice—then may a long illness come. But if I do know how to perform the right sacrifice—that is a godly thing. If I do not know how to perform the right sacrifice but sacrifice, that is a devilish thing. If I do not perform the right sacrifice—then may the demons come here. In this manner, O Ayek and Alat, come to this spot here. Traitors shall we be to the ancestral gods if we, the descendants, sacrifice in this (wrong) way. Thus we sacrifice (rightly) as is our duty. As our ancestors did—so do we honour (the gods) We, the living, set on this spot (bull's head) millet beer and[61].

61a. dartik rum pong
Dartik gods (both are supposed to be female and male messengers, who bring news to the priest who performs the sacrifice; they are familiar deities of the Lepchas)

ung fat ung glum rum pong sug ngag la bam
to the water and the flood goods, to them altogether I sacrifice now.

dō dō dzum hi dzum myong rum pong khing tzung darmit rum pong
Our own life-spirits and soul gods, god of life's destiny, Darmit,

ayek alat rum pong dzō bōn pu rum pong
gods of procreation, Ayek and Alat, gods as benefactors of the soul,

ong bon pu rum pong djū la mat mong
the gods who lend the strength of life; if I know how to sacrifice, so

sug yu gong nōn dō dō khing tzung go nōng sug ma yōn gong
I must do it. The god of my personal destiny knows it; if I do not

nōn dō dō a rō a riom plō cho djū la nag yō
sacrifice, then may a long illness come, come. But if I do know

gong la rum gōm
how to perform the right sacrifice, then is that a godly thing.

djū la sug ma yō nōng gong na mung gōm
But if I do not know how to perform the right sacrifice that is a demonish thing.

dō dō sug la ma yōng gong na mung ni gom
If I do not perform the right sacrifice, then shall the demon be here.

a kom sag dōm ga ayek alat plō
In this way and at this place Ayek and Alat come here!

nyō ting na rum gōn go yu gab djong
We shall not become traitors to the ancestral gods, if we,

ati adzo nong ga su gad shō bu sa yuk
the descendants, sacrifice in this way. It is our duty to sacrifice thus.

ōō thing ga ning long fat sa yuk gom
As our ancestors did, so we also do honour in this way.

go yu sun nin sag dōm ga chi leg so log mat nōn.
We, the living, set on this spot (head of the bull) millet beer and rice-offering.

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755 782 776 rice-offerings. Thus we sacrifice. As our ancestors in ancient times did—so do we now. We do not know how to speak in this world; but we have arranged the sacrifice. As this world's life-spirit we, creatures, hold the branches of the Na sŏ and Na ling trees. We, the sons of Bong-thing, the Bong-thing sons of fire, hold them in our hands. That is the place to carry the Na sŏ and Na ling branches which I take consciously. Now I swear an oath to Ta she tak bo thing. Therefore I push a stone into the earth and I plant a beautifully decorated bamboo in the earth (as witnesses of the oath). In this place I take the oath. I do it in our own interest. Today, in this very place I take the oath. The paths of the demons are barred. Through the wonderful powers of Ta she tak bo thing I offer this sacrifice. Henceforward we offer a compensation, a bodily substitute: Send no more suffering to this person."[61b]

[539] 61b. Fat bam a re a thing a niŏ sa dal thing gung dŏ ni ayit
Thus we sacrifice. As our ancestor did since ancient times,
plŏ nŏng sug bam
so we also perform the sacrifice.
sog dŏm lyang ga go yusŏng dŏn ma kŏn go yu rum
In this world we do not know how we should speak. We have arranged
tek so sog
the sacrifice (rum, god, has also the meaning of sacrifice). As this
dŏm lŏng ming tang ga son chio nin cho sa liang ga na sŏ na ling
world's life spirit we, creatures, hold here branches of the Na sŏ and Na ling
nom bong thing kŏb
trees (similar to the Nepalese Panisage and Sau tree). We, Bong-thing sons,
bong thing la mi kŏb nŏng ga sog dŏm ga
we, Bong-thing sons of fire, hold them in our hands. Here in this place carrying
na sŏ na ling nom hŏ nŏng go tsam nŏng ga.
the Na sŏ na ling branches, I take hold of them consciously.
ta she tak bo thing riak to long tsog.
To Ta she tak bo thing I swear an oath. I push a stone into the earth.
bu tsum bu yak to nŏn
I plant a beautifully decorated bamboo in the earth. (This ceremony takes place
at the swearing and oath taking, so that the oath is sworn over the stone and the
bamboo, which are placed side by side.)
sog dŏm riak to sŏn tŏn do ga
Here in this place I take the oath. In our own interest I do it.
sa rong sa ni riak are to nŏn sog dŏm ga
Just today I take the oath here. Thus here in this place
mung sa lom chat are tak bo she thing sa
the demons' ways are barred. Now through Tak bo she things' wonder-
a dyăn sa lŏm nŏng to Along ren me sŭ lŏm
powers, I bring this sacrifice. From now on, a bodily substitute, a
sa lŏ lŏm bo son areka gi dŏk ma bin
compensation we give. Send no more suffering to this person."